Bede
Commentary on Revelation

Translated with introduction and notes by Faith Wallis

TTH

Translated Texts for Historians

300–800 AD is the time of late antiquity and the early middle ages: the transformation of the classical world, the beginnings of Europe and of Islam, and the evolution of Byzantium. TTH makes available sources translated from Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Georgian, Gothic and Armenian. Each volume provides an expert scholarly translation, with an introduction setting texts and authors in context, and with notes on content, interpretation and debates.

Editorial Committee
Sebastian Brock, Oriental Institute, University of Oxford
Averil Cameron, Keble College, Oxford
Marios Costambeys, University of Liverpool
Carlotta Dionisotti, King's College, London
Peter Heather, King's College, London
Robert Hoyland, University of Oxford
William E. Klingshirn, The Catholic University of America
Michael Lapidge, Clare College, Cambridge
John Matthews, Yale University
Neil McLynn, Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Richard Price, Heythrop College, University of London
Claudia Rapp, Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik, Universität Wien
Judith Ryder, University of Oxford
Raymond Van Dam, University of Michigan
Michael Whitby, University of Birmingham
Ian Wood, University of Leeds

General Editors
Gillian Clark, University of Bristol
Mark Humphries, Swansea University
Mary Whitby, University of Oxford

A full list of published titles in the Translated Texts for Historians series is available on request. The most recently published are shown below.

Nemesius: On the Nature of Man
Translated with introduction and notes by R. W. SHARPLES and P. J. VAN DER EIJK
Volume 49: 283pp., 2008, ISBN 978-1-84631-132-1

Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis
Translated with introduction and notes by ADAM H. BECKER
Volume 50: 217pp., 2008, ISBN 978-1-84631-161-1

Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553: with related texts on the Three Chapters Controversy
Translated with an introduction and notes by RICHARD PRICE
Volume 51, 2 vols, 384pp + 360pp, 2009, ISBN 9781846311789

Three Political Voices from the Age of Justinian: Agapetus – Advice to the Emperor, Dialogue on Political Science, Paul the Silentiary – Description of Hagia Sophia
Translated with notes and an introduction by PETER N. BELL
Volume 52: 249pp, ISBN 978-1-84631-209-0

History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai
DANIEL F. CANER, with contributions by SEBASTIAN BROCK, RICHARD M. PRICE and KEVIN VAN BLADEL
Volume 53: 346pp, ISBN 978-1-84631-216-8

Orosius: Seven Books of History against the Pagans
Translated with introduction and notes by A. T. FEAR
Volume 54: 456pp., 2010; ISBN 978-1-84631-473-5 cased, 978-1-84631-239-7 limp

The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in Late Antiquity
Translated by GEOFFREY GREATREX, with ROBERT PHENIX and CORNELIA HORN; introductory material by SEBASTIAN BROCK and WITOLD WITAKOWSKI
Volume 55: 2010; ISBN 978-1-84631-493-3 cased, 978-1-84631-494-0 limp

Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times
Translated with introduction and notes by CALVIN B. KENDALL and FAITH WALLIS
Volume 56: 371pp., 2010, ISBN 978-1-84631-495-7

Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle
Translated with introduction and notes by ROBERT G. HOYLAND
Volume 57: 368pp., 2011, ISBN 978-1-84631-697-5 cased, 978-1-84631-698-2 limp

For full details of Translated Texts for Historians, including prices and ordering information, please write to the following:
All countries, except the USA and Canada: Liverpool University Press, 4 Cambridge Street, Liverpool, L69 7ZU, UK (*Tel* +44-[0]151-794 2233, *Fax* +44-[0]151-794 2235, Email janmar@liv.ac.uk, http://www.liverpool universitypress.co.uk). **USA and Canada:** University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th Street, Chicago, IL, 60637, US (*Tel* 773-702-7700, *Fax* 773-702-9756, www.press.uchicago.edu)

Translated Texts for Historians
Volume 58

Bede:
Commentary on Revelation

Translated with an introduction and notes by
FAITH WALLIS

Liverpool
University
Press

First published 2013
Liverpool University Press
4 Cambridge Street
Liverpool, L69 7ZU

Copyright © 2013 Faith Wallis

The right of Faith Wallis to be identified as the author of this book has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A British Library CIP Record is available.

ISBN 978-1-84631-844-3 cased
978-1-84631-845-0 limp

Set in Times by
Koinonia, Manchester
Printed and bound by
Bell & Bain Ltd, Glasgow

To the ‘Bede-niks’
of Kalamazoo and Leeds

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ix
Abbreviations xi

Introduction

1. Bede and the Latin Tradition of Exegesis of Revelation 5
   1.1 The Roots of Bede's Major Exegetical Theme 7
   1.2 Victorinus of Pettau 9
   1.3 Apocalyptic Retreats and Revivals in the Fourth Century 11
   1.4 Tyconius 14
   1.5 The Tyconian Tradition from Augustine to the End of the Sixth Century 16

2. Bede's Immediate Sources and How He Used Them 22
   2.1 '*Commaticum interpretandi genus*' 23
   2.2 A Mosaic of Quotations 25
   2.3 Reconstructing Bede's Use of Tyconius 28
   2.4 The Occlusion of Primasius 30
   2.5 Did Bede Read Caesarius? 31
   2.6 Bede's Borrowings from Augustine 32
   2.7 Bede Reads Jerome and Gregory 33
   2.8 Was Bede's Exegesis Influenced by Visual Sources? 34
   2.9 Bede and the Text of the Bible 38

3. Date and Circumstances of Composition 39
   3.1 The Significance of the Date of Composition 39
   3.2 The *Commentary on Revelation* and the Preface to the *Commentary on Acts* 40
   3.3 *Obstrepentes causae*? 43
   3.4 An Apocalyptic Eighth Century? 51

4. Shape and Style of the *Commentary on Revelation* 58
   4.1 The Poem of Bede the Priest 58

4.2 Bede's Preface: The Structure of Revelation and the '*periochae*' 59
4.3 Bede's Preface: The Methodological Framework 67
4.4. The Unscheduled Future: How Bede Shapes the Meaning of Revelation 73
4.5 Judgement and Reform 82

5. Bede's *Commentary on Revelation*: Transmission and Translation 86
5.1 Transmission in Manuscript 86
5.2 The *Commentary* in Print 92
5.3 Principles Governing the Present Translation 94

Bede: Commentary on Revelation

The Poem of Bede the Priest 99
Preface 101
Book 1 107
Book 2 161
Book 3 218

Appendix: The *capitula lectionum* on Revelation Ascribed to Bede 287

Select Bibliography 292
Index of Sources and Parallels 309
General Index 339

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The seeds of this translation were sown many decades ago at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, in the margins (so to speak) of a research essay on Bede's use of Augustine which I wrote for Prof. Jocelyn N. Hillgarth's memorable seminar on the medieval transmission and reception of the *City of God*. These seeds remained buried for some years, as I turned my attention to Bede's scientific writings on time; but Bede's exegetical reflections on the beginning and end of time always seemed to me to be an essential thread in the complex web of his thinking on this difficult subject. The major obstacle to publishing a translation of the *Commentary on Revelation* was the want of a reliable modern edition of the original text. This has recently been furnished by Dr Roger Gryson, but even before his edition appeared in print, Dr Gryson gave me very valuable advice, and proposed important corrections to my translations. As the seeds sprouted and put out their first leaves, I had the privilege of a month's visit, thanks to a Universitas 21 fellowship, from Peter Darby, then a doctoral student at the University of Birmingham. Technically, I was supervising his visiting studentship; in reality, we were exchanging our work, commenting on each other's drafts (I on Peter's thesis-in-progress, he on this translation), and enjoying long, digressive conversations about Bede's views on the course of time, and the events that would announce its end. Peter is now Dr Darby of the University of Leicester, but his generous concern with this translation has remained constant, and I am thankful for his perceptive and careful reading of the penultimate draft. Peter and I first met at Kalamazoo, in one of the legendary series of Bede sessions organized by Prof. Scott DeGregorio. Over the years, these sessions have contributed enormously to my thinking about Bede in general, and the *Commentary on Revelation* in particular, and Peter is continuing the tradition at both Kalamazoo and Leeds. Scott himself kept up the pressure on me to complete the *Commentary*, and kindly vetted the Introduction. To honour Scott, Peter, and the other scholars whose devotion to these annual gatherings furnished so much to the project – and whose 'sapient colloquy' over cakes and ale is such a pleasure – this volume

is dedicated to the 'Bede-niks' of Kalamazoo and Leeds. The Bede-niks are an inclusive club, and to thank the members individually would be impossible; nonetheless, I cannot miss this opportunity to send particular salutations to George Hardin Brown, Calvin Kendall, Paul Hilliard, Tom Mackay, Jo Story, Alan Thacker, and Josh Westgard. My thanks as well go out to Dr Luciana Cuppo-Csaki for sharing her research on *De duobus testibus*.

I owe a great debt to Dr Michael Lapidge, who combed through every line of my text with exceptional erudition and diligence, and whose superb command of medieval Latin and knowledge of the scholarship on Anglo-Saxon England and early medieval Europe caught many mistakes, and filled many gaps. Dr Mary Whitby has been a stalwart and extraordinarily patient editor; may she rejoice to see a book whose seemingly endless gestation she supervised with such good will, and whose final form has been improved by her corrections and suggestions. The wonderful librarians of McGill University, and especially of its Interlibrary Loans service, have earned my humble gratitude. The most wonderful librarian of all is my husband Kendall, who retired from his day job in the Reference Department of McLennan Library to start a second career as my personal, live-in research assistant. His astounding skill at ferreting out bibliographic references and spading up information lies behind virtually every page of this book; his beautiful mind and radiant soul are the greatest blessings of my life.

ABBREVIATIONS

Augustine, *DCD*	Augustine, *De civitate Dei*. Ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb. CCSL 47–48 (1955), 2 vols. Trans. R.W. Dyson, *Augustine: The City of God against the Pagans.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
—. *DDC*	*De doctrina christiana*. Ed. J. Martin. CCSL 32 (1962).
Beatus	Beatus of Liébana, *Beati in Apocalypsin libri 12*. Ed. A. Sanders. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 7. Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1930. References are to book, chapter and sentence; pr. = *praefatio*; T = (glossed) sections of text of Revelation heading Beatus's *storiae.*
Bede, *Act. Ap.*	*Expositio Actuum Apostolorum. Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum.* ed. M.L.W. Laistner. Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939. Trans. Lawrence T. Martin. *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles.* Cistercian Studies Series 117. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1989.
—. *Cath. Ep.*	Bede, *De Epistolis VII catholicis.* Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 121 (1983). Trans. D. Hurst. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1985.
—. *De tab.*	*De tabernaculo.* Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 119B (1969): 1–139. Trans. Arthur G. Holder. Translated Texts for Historians 18. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994.
—. *De tem.*	*De templo.* Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 119A (1969): 143–234. Trans. S. Connolly. Translated Texts for Historians 21. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995.
—. *DNR*	*De natura rerum.* Ed. C.W. Jones. CCSL 123A (1975). Trans. Calvin Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times.* Translated Texts for Historians 56. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010.
—. *DT*	*De temporibus*. Ed. C.W. Jones. CCSL 123C (1980). Trans. Calvin Kendall and Faith Wallis (see previous entry).
—. *DTR*	*De temporum ratione.* Ed. C.W. Jones. CCSL 123B (1977). Trans. Faith Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*. Translated Texts for Historians 29. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999; rev. ed. 2004.

—. *Ep. Pleg.*	*Epistola ad Pleguinam*. Ed. C.W. Jones. CCSL 123C (1980). Trans. in Wallis (previous entry) Appendix 3.1.
—. *HE*	*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
—. *Hom.*	*Homeliae*. Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 122 (1955): 1–384. Trans. Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst, *Bede the Venerable: Homilies on the Gospels*, 2 vols. Cistercian Studies Series 110–111. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1991.
—. *In Cant. Cant.*	*In Cantica Canticorum allegorica expositio.* Ed. D. Hurst and J.F. Hudson. CCSL 119B (1983): 167–375. Trans. Arthur G. Holder, *On the Song of Songs and Selected Writings.* New York and Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2011.
—. *In Ez.*	*In Ezram et Neemiam.* Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 119A (1969). Trans. Scott DeGregorio, *On Ezra and Nehemiah.* Translated Texts for Historians 47. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006. References are to book and line number in Hurst's edition.
—. *In Gen.*	*Libri quatuor in principium Genesis usque ad nativitatem Isaac et eiectionem Ismahelis adnotationum*. Ed. C.W. Jones. CCSL 118A (1967). Trans. Calvin B. Kendall. *On Genesis*. Translated Texts for Historians 48. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
—. *In Lucam*	Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 120 (1960). References are to book and line number.
—. *In Marcum*	Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 120 (1960). References are to book and line number.
—. *In Prov.*	*In Proverbia Salomonis.* Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 119B (1983). References are to book and line number.
—. *In Sam.*	*In primam partem Samuhelis.* Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 119 (1962). References are to book and line number.
Caesarius	Caesarius of Arles, *Expositio in Apocalypsin*. In *Opera omnia*. Ed. G. Morin. Maredsous: [Abbey], 1942.
CCCM	*Corpus christianorum continuatio medievalis*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–.
CCSL	*Corpus christianorum series latina*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–.
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum.* Vienna, Prague, Leipzig: Temsky, etc., 1866–.
De XII lap.	Anon. (Irish, 7th c.), *De XII lapidibus*. Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge, eds. *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae.* Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 14. 164–167. Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1988.
Eusebius, *HE*	Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*. Trans. Rufinus. Ed. T. Mommsen. *Eusebius Werke* 2.1–2. Griechische christliche Schriftsteller 9.1–2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903–1908.
Gregory, *Mor.*	*Moralia in Iob.* Ed. M. Adriaen. CCSL 143, 143A, 143B (1979).

Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction	*Bedae Presbyteri Expositio Apocalypseos.* Ed. Roger Gryson. CCSL 121A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001. Introduction.
—. Tyc. ed. Introduction	*Tyconii Afri Expositio Apocalypseos*. Ed. Roger Gryson (see below, Tyconius). Introduction.
—. Tyc. trans. Introduction	Tyconius, *Commentaire de l'Apocalypse*. Trans. Roger Gryson, Corpus christianorum in translation 10. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010. Introduction.
Isidore, *Etym.*	*Etymologiae sive origines*. Ed. W.M. Lindsay. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.
Jerome, *In Dan.*	*Commentariorum in Danielem libri III.* Ed. F. Glorie. CCSL 75A (1964). Trans. Gleason L. Archer, Jr. *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1977.
—. *In Is.*	*Explanationum in Esaiam libri 18. Commentaire de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe.* Ed. R. Gryson. 5 v. Freiburg: Herder, 1993–1999.
—. *In Ez.*	*Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri 14.* Ed. F. Glorie. CCSL 75 (1964).
—. *Lib. int.*	*Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*. Ed. P. de Lagarde. CCSL 72 (1959). pp. 57–161.
(ps.)-Jerome, *Commemoratorium*	*Incerti auctoris commemoratorium de Apocalypsi Johannis Apostoli*. Ed. Roger Gryson, in *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*. CCSL 107 (2003): 161–229. References are to pages and lines. Note that Gryson's apparatus to his edition of Bede's commentary, which appeared before his edition of pseudo-Jerome, cites Rapisarda's edition (see Bibliography).
Pliny, *HN*	Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis*. Ed. H. Rackham, W.E.S. Jones and D.E. Eichholz. 10 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann, 1938 (repr. 1961).
Primasius	Primasius of Hadrumentum, *Commentarius in Apocalypsim*. Ed. A.W. Adams. CCSL 92 (1985). References are to chapter of Revelation, and line(s) of Primasius's text.
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus*. Series latina. Ed. J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris: J.-P. Migne and Garnier Frères, 1841–1880, with volumes reissued by Garnier to 1905.
Sparks	[Bible. Vulgate. Apocalypse.] Ed. H.F.D. Sparks. *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Chrisi latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi*. Ed. J. Wordsworth and H.J. White. Part 3, fasc. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954.
Tyconius	*Tyconii Afri Expositio Apocalypseos. Accedunt eiusdem expositionis a quodam retractatae fragmenta Tauriensia.* Ed. Roger Gryson. CCSL 107A (2011). References are to *periocha* and chapter, followed by page and line.

—. (Bud. fr.)	Budapest fragments of Tyconius, *In Apocalypsin*. Ed. Roger Gryson, 'Fragments inédits du Commentaire de Tyconius sur l'Apocalypse', *Revue bénédictine* 107 (1997): 189–226. References are to the folio and lines of the fragments, followed by the page number in this edition.
—. (Tur. fr.)	Turin fragments of an early medieval condensed version of Tyconius, *In Apocalypsin*. Ed. Fr. Lo Bue and G.G. Willis, *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation*. Texts and Studies n.s. 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963. References are to sentence number. This is the edition cited in Roger Gryson's edition of Bede; the same sentence numbers are used in Gryson's new edition of the Tur. fr., in his edition of Tyconius (see above), pp. 350–385.
—. *Lib. reg.*	*Liber regularum*. Ed. F.C. Burkitt. *The Rules of Tyconius*. Texts and Studies 3.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1894.
Victorinus/Jerome	Victorinus of Pettau, *In Apocalypsin*, revised by Jerome. Ed. J. Haussleiter. *Victorini episcopi Petavionensis opera*. CSEL 49. Leipzig: Freytag, 1916.

BOOKS OF THE BIBLE ARE ABBREVIATED AS FOLLOWS

Old Testament

Gen.	Genesis	Song of Sol.	Song of Solomon
Exod.	Exodus	Isa.	Isaiah
Lev.	Leviticus	Jer.	Jeremiah
Num.	Numbers	Lam.	Lamentations
Deut.	Deuteronomy	Ezek.	Ezekiel
Josh.	Joshua	Dan.	Daniel
Judg.	Judges	Hos.	Hosea
Ruth	Ruth	Joel	Joel
1–2 Sam.	1–2 Samuel	Amos	Amos
1–4 Kings	1–4 Kings	Obad.	Obadiah
1–2 Chron.	1–2 Chronicles	Jon.	Jonah
Ezra	Ezra	Mic.	Michah
Neh.	Nehemiah	Nah.	Nahum
Esther	Esther	Hab.	Habakkuk
Job	Job	Zeph.	Zephaniah
Ps.	Psalms	Hag.	Haggai
Prov.	Proverbs	Zech.	Zechariah
Eccles.	Ecclesiastes	Mal.	Malachi

Apocrypha (selected)

Tob.	Tobit
Wisd. of Sol.	The Wisdom of Solomon
Ecclus.	Ecclesiasticus
Song of Three Children	The Song of the Three Holy Children
1–2 Macc.	1–2 Maccabees

New Testament

Matt.	Matthew
Mark	Mark
Luke	Luke
John	John
Acts	Acts of the Apostles
Rom.	Romans
1–2 Cor.	1–2 Corinthians
Gal.	Galatians
Eph.	Ephesians
Phil.	Philippians
Col.	Colossians
1–2 Thess.	1–2 Thessalonians
1–2 Tim.	1–2 Timothy
Titus	Titus
Philem.	Philemon
Heb.	Hebrews
James	James
1–2 Pet.	1–2 Peter
1–3 John	1–3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev.	Revelation

INTRODUCTION

The *Commentary on Revelation* (*Expositio Apocalypseos*) was Bede's first venture into Biblical exegesis. For this reason alone, anyone interested in the development of this remarkable medieval mind will appreciate its intrinsic significance. Its subject matter – the climax of the great story of creation and redemption, of history and of time itself – only intensifies this importance, for these themes lie at the heart of Bede's concerns and of his achievement. The *Commentary* thus reveals how closely Bede's exegesis was intertwined with his other writings. Until fairly recently, Bede was studied almost exclusively as the author of the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. By contrast, the commentaries that Bede himself ranked at the top of his 'curriculum vitae' in *Ecclesiastical History* 5.24 received only scant and fragmented attention. In part, this was because scholars had no reliable *Bedae opera exegetica* to match Plummer's *Baedae opera historica* or C.W. Jones's *Bedae opera de temporibus* prior to the mid-1950s, when the *Corpus christianorum* editions of the commentaries began to appear. Their publication coincided with and contributed to a rehabilitation of Bede's Biblical commentaries as works of Christian learning, and as historical evidence of their author's worldview, education, purposes and prejudices. This rehabilitation has in turn accelerated efforts to understand Bede's life-work as he himself conceived it, in the context of a Christian Latin culture and a monastic worldview that held to distinctive standards of propriety, utility, and truth. In particular, the role of exegesis in Bede's larger mission to edify and reform the English church and people has moved to the fore.

Thus it seems curious that the *Commentary on Revelation* has failed to attract more than episodic interest from Bede scholars or from historians of early medieval exegesis and eschatology.[1] The *Commentary*'s status as

1 Gerald Bonner's 1966 Jarrow Lecture *Saint Bede and the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary* remains the indispensable overview. The most thorough and recent study of the sources, text tradition and manuscript transmission of the *Commentary* is the introduction to Roger Gryson's critical edition (see Abbreviations), hereafter cited as Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction. There are only a handful of essays devoted specifically to the *Commentary*. These include

Bede's first foray into exegesis may even have discouraged interest. Scholars have detected in some of its features a certain awkwardness and youthful uncertainty: the substantial methodological prologue, for example, has been judged in this light.[2] Moreover, the *Commentary* sticks closely to verse-by-verse exposition, and is to a significant extent a mosaic of quotations from prior authorities. Bede's mature works of exegesis take a freer and more expansive approach to the Biblical text, and their debt to previous works is less obtrusive. It is thus easy to discount the *Commentary* as derivative,

---

two fundamental studies by Thomas Mackay, 'Bede's Biblical Criticism. The Venerable Bede's Summary of Tyconius' *Liber Regularum*', *Saints, Scholars and Heroes: Studies in Medieval Culture in Honour of Charles W. Jones*, ed. Margot H. King and Wesley M. Stevens (Collegeville, Minn.: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1979), v. 1, pp. 209–231, 'Sources and Style in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse', *Studia Patristica* 30, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), pp. 54–60, and 'Augustine and Gregory the Great in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 396–405; Jean-Marc Vercruysse, 'Bède lecteur de Tyconius dans l'*Expositio Apocalypseos*', *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité/The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity*, ed. Stephane Lebecq, Michel Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack (Lille: CEGES – Université Charles de Gaulle, 2005), pp. 19–30; Joseph F.T. Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede and the Irish Exegetical Tradition on the Apocalypse', *Revue bénédictine* 92 (1982): 393–406; Yves Christe, 'Ap. VI–VII, 1: de Bède à Bruno de Signi', *Études de civilisation médiévale (IXe–XIIe siècles). Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Poitiers: C.É.S.C.M., 1975), pp. 145–151; and Peter Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part II, Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* and Related Works', *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983): 73–123, and most recently Claude Carozzi, 'Apocalypse et temps de l'église selon Bède le Vénérable', *L'Apocalisse nel Medioevo: atti del convegno internazionale dell'Università di Milano e della Società internazionale per lo studio del medioevo latino*, Gargnano sul Garda, 18-20 maggio 2009, ed. Rossana Guglielmetti (Florence: SISMEL–Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011), pp. 115-32. William D. McCready's discussion of Bede's eschatology remarkably does not refer to the *Commentary on Revelation*: *Miracles and the Venerable Bede* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1994), pp. 90–104. Peter Darby's *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) on the other hand, integrates the *Commentary* into its wider argument: see esp. pp. 75–81. Much of the scholarship devoted to Bede's exegesis in general makes only incidental reference to the *Commentary*, e.g. Bertrand de Margerie in ch. 3 ('Bède le Vénérable commentateur original du Nouveau Testament') of his *Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse. T4: L'Occident latin: de Léon de Grand à Bernard de Clairvaux* (Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 1990), p. 197. By contrast, Arthur G. Holder's overview of Bede's New Testament commentaries gives a suitable place to the *Commentary*: 'Bede and the New Testament', *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 142–169. There is also a substantial analysis of the commentary in Kenneth B. Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius: A History of its Reception and Influence*, European University Studies ser. 23, 301 (Frankfurt, Berlin and New York: Peter Lang. 1987), pp. 116–131.

2 Roger Gryson, 'Les commentaires patristiques latins de l'Apocalypse [part 2]', *Revue théologique de Louvain* 28 (1997), p. 484.

immature, and unassertive,[3] and hence to avoid addressing some important questions, notably why Bede composed a commentary on Revelation at all. However, the fact that Bede chose to comment on this notoriously difficult book – a book which none of the major Fathers had subjected to systematic exegesis – strongly suggests that he did not see his efforts as either unoriginal or unassertive.[4] Certainly Bede borrowed from others, but as Gerald Bonner observed, he always 'fitted what he took into a plan which was his own'.[5] Moreover, in choosing a difficult and understudied book, Bede may have been consciously imitating Gregory the Great, who in his

3 M.L.W. Laistner, for example, claimed that 'the commentary on the Apocalypse probably contains far less of Bede's own ideas than do some of his later works': 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', *Bede: His Life, Times and Writings. Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935; repr. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), p. 252. This assessment of Bede's early exegesis and the *Commentary on Revelation* in particular is broadly echoed by Scott DeGregorio, 'The Venerable Bede and Gregory the Great: Exegetical Connections, Spiritual Departures', *Early Medieval Europe* 18 (2010): 43–60 at 52. Alan Thacker characterizes all of Bede's early commentaries as 'cautious and derivative': 'Bede and the Ordering of Understanding', *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio, Medieval European Studies 7 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006), p. 46. Such virtues as are ascribed to the *Commentary* are usually simplicity and clarity rather than originality: e.g. Guy Lobrichon, 'Stalking the Signs: The Apocalyptic Commentaries', *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, ed. Richard Landes, Andrew Gow and David C. Van Meter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 70; Wilhelm Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie. Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joachim von Fiore.* Historische Studien Heft 285. (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1935), p. 12.

4 Roger Ray, 'Who Did Bede Think He Was?', *Innovation and Tradition*, p. 19; Holder, 'Bede and the New Testament', p. 145. E. Ann Matter describes the *Commentary* as 'a sophisticated analysis of the Apocalypse, one that carries on a reading of the text as the history of the Church on earth while keeping a watchful eye on the larger picture of cosmic history': 'Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages', *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 34. However, some of her argument hinges on a misunderstanding of Bede's *periochae*: see below, n. 153).

5 Bonner, *Saint Bede*, p. 9. Roger Ray notes that '[Bede's] practice [was] to deploy the clarified and inflected patristic texts according to didactic claims that make the resulting work his own' in an act of 'creative synthesis': 'What Do We Know about Bede's Commentaries?', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 48 (1982), p. 11. He makes no exception for early works like the *Commentary on Revelation*: see p. 18. De Margerie (*Introduction*, p. 188) calls Bede's exegesis 'un project d'originalité dans la continuité'. He is seconded by A. Willmes, 'Bedas Bibelauslegung', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 44 (1963): 281–314; Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede the Scholar', *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable* Bede, ed. Gerald Bonner (London: S.P.C.K., 1976), pp. 42–44. These two last studies, however, do not comment explicitly on the Revelation commentary.

preface to *Moral Interpretations on Job* (*Moralia in Iob*) referred to 'this obscure work, which hitherto has been treated thoroughly by none before us'. If he required further encouragement, he could read in one of his major sources, Primasius, a statement, drawn from Jerome's letter 53, on the value of Revelation.[6] If so, then he saw himself as 'following in the footsteps of the Fathers' not merely by learning from them and reproducing their doctrine, but by collaborating with them to extend and complete their mission.

Only since the recent publication of Roger Gryson's exceptional edition of the Revelation commentary for the *Corpus christianorum* series can students of Bede really appreciate the subtle construction of this work. Two substantial Latin commentaries on Revelation were available to Bede: one by the fifth-century North African exegete Primasius of Hadrumentum (d. *c.* 558), and another by Primasius's compatriot, the Donatist theologian Tyconius (*fl. c*. 370–390). He also made use of Victorinus of Pettau's commentary, as revised by Jerome, but in a less sustained way. In the *Commentary*, Bede mentions the orthodox Primasius by name only once, but acknowledges his debt to Tyconius frequently. Furthermore, Bede's preface incorporates the summary of Tyconius's *Book of Rules* (*Liber Regularum*) found in Augustine's *On Christian Learning* (*De doctrina christiana*). In fact, Bede was at pains to present Augustine as his premier authority. Primasius's frequent quotations from Augustine's works, notably *The City of God*, made his commentary a useful index of Augustine's thought on eschatological issues. Primasius and Tyconius recede into the background of Bede's text, becoming a virtually invisible frame on which Bede can display passages he has culled from Augustine, as well as from Jerome and Gregory. This suggests that Bede was doing something bold and creative: fashioning the first impeccably authoritative and orthodox reading of Revelation in Latin. His readers agreed, for the *Commentary* enjoyed an extraordinary *fortuna.* It was the most widely diffused of all pre-Carolingian commentaries on Revelation,[7] and was the fourth most popular work of Bede's after the *Ecclesiastical History*, *The Reckoning of Time* (*De temporum ratione*) and the *Commentary on the Catholic Epistles* (*In epistolis VII catholicis*). It exerted a powerful and formative influence on Carolingian exegesis, and was mined for the Revelation section of the *Glossa ordinaria*, the standard compilation of running commentary on Scripture used in the universities of the later

6 Gregory, *Mor.* pr. 2; anonymous translation, *Morals on the Book of Job* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1844), p. 7. Primasius, prol. 3.53-55, quoting Jerome, *Epistola* 53.9, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54 (1910), p. 463.

7 Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 13.

medieval period. The *Commentary on Revelation* thus deserves closer study; it repays that study with important insights into Bede's emerging thought and its contemporary context.

1. BEDE AND THE LATIN TRADITION OF EXEGESIS OF REVELATION

The Book of Revelation struggled for a long time to win a place in the canon of the New Testament, and though it was the object of some of the earliest Biblical commentaries, its reception was often controversial, and not infrequently associated with heresy. The style of the book is strange and alarming, mixing strident oracles with bizarre, even garish imagery. In this respect, it is typical of the apocalypses that flourished in Jewish and Christian culture from the period of the Second Temple through to the early Middle Ages. These ancient apocalypses are of broadly two types. One type presents a revelation of the cosmos, particularly the celestial realm or the state of souls after death; time and history are of little or no concern. The second announces the course and end of history; the book of Revelation is such a historical apocalypse. The message of the historical apocalypse is that history is even now hurtling towards a final crisis that will be marked by terrors and the persecution of God's people. However, God will soon intervene definitively: the just will be rewarded, and the reprobate consigned to everlasting punishment. Apocalyptic salvation is rescue from and through catastrophe, and its fruition is a utopian messianic kingdom. The dominant tone of the historical apocalypse is one of struggle against enemies, followed by total triumph and cosmic renewal. Even when the timing of the end is explicitly declared to be unknown and unknowable (as in the 'Little Apocalypses' in the Synoptic Gospels: Matt. 24:1-25 and 36; Mark 13:1-37; Luke 21:5-38; cf. Acts 1:6-7), the reader is expected to adopt a posture of tense expectation. Indeed, Bede himself, in line with the exegetical tradition he espoused, rejected *predictive* imminence, but preached *psychological* imminence, with greater or lesser intensity as the circumstances of his life altered.[8]

8 Bernard McGinn, 'Introduction: John's Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality', *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 7–9; Brian E. Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*, ed. Bernard J. McGinn, John J. Collins, Stephen J. Stein (New York and London: Continuum, 2003), p. 221; Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 10–16. Darby's *Bede and the End of Time*, ch. 7 (pp. 165–185), and

The message of the Gospel proclaimed by the Fathers of the first six centuries is wrapped around an irreducibly eschatological core. The life, death and resurrection of Christ themselves constitute God's decisive intervention into human history. These events fulfilled and completed the processes recounted in the Old Testament, reaching back to Creation, but the *meaning* of these processes lay in events which were very recent. By the same token, God's action in Christ ushered in a new and culminating chapter in history. In a sense, the end had already arrived; it was pulled proleptically into the present. This overlapping of past, present and future underlies the exegetical tradition on which Bede drew, and that shaped his historical, theological, and pastoral sensibilities.[9] Indeed, Bernard McGinn has argued that an apocalyptic vision of time and human history was a fundamental constituent of the culture of the 'first Europe', the emerging Latin Christendom of the early Middle Ages.[10]

The first generations of Christians expected Christ's return at any moment, but the eventual acceptance of its delay did not spell the end of apocalyptic hopes and fears. Many of Bede's most revered patristic authorities, such as Augustine and Jerome, lived at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries, when there was a fresh upwelling of apocalyptic sentiment and speculation. Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century, frequently expressed his conviction that present disturbances were signs that the end was drawing near. But Bede, and the tradition he drew on, vigorously rejected two corollaries. The first was that the signs of the times indicated not only *that* the end was coming, but also *when* it was coming. The orthodox response was to discourage any attempt to calculate the deadline. The second was that the messianic kingdom would be an earthly one, lasting one thousand years. Since this Millennium is found only in Rev. 20:4-6, one solution was to erode the text's eschatological immediacy by re-framing John's vision as a theological key to the whole experience of the Church from the Incarnation until the end of time. Allegorical exegesis that regarded Scripture as a repository of eternal spiritual truths (its premier exponent was Origen) was

ch. 8 (pp. 187–214) demonstrates how Bede's later writings present the theme of psychological imminence with greater intensity than the earlier ones.

9 G.W.H. Lampe, 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture. 1. To Gregory the Great', *The Cambridge History of the Bible. The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 155; R.A. Markus, 'Living within Sight of the End', *Time in the Medieval World*, ed. Chris Humphrey and W.M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), p. 24.

10 Bernard McGinn, 'The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom', *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, ed. Malcolm Bull (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 58–89.

the ideal method for accomplishing this. The imagery of Revelation could thus be protected from over-literal readings that would bring the inspired text into disrepute, leaving it vulnerable to accusations of coarse and absurd materialism. But how far could allegory be exploited before it endangered the literal reality of the resurrection of the body or the final judgement, which were core doctrines of the faith?

1.1 The Roots of Bede's Major Exegetical Themes

The oldest stratum of the exegetical tradition of Revelation already reveals the difficulties of maintaining a suitable balance.[11] This stratum comprises a thin layer of full-scale commentaries on Revelation, plus much thicker and more diverse deposits composed of references and incidental remarks found in expositions of other books of Scripture (e.g. the Gospels and Daniel), or in sermons, letters and thematic treatises. This had the effect of blending Revelation's apocalyptic with those of other eschatological passages from the Old and New Testaments, suggesting a synthetic 'history of the future'.

Much of this material was not directly accessible to Bede, but came filtered through the commentaries of Tyconius and Primasius, Augustine's *The City of God* (*De civitate Dei*), Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel* (*In Danihelem*), and Gregory's *Moral Interpretations on Job* (*Moralia in Iob*). Nonetheless, a survey of this tradition helps us to understand why some themes were significant to Bede, and why he came to treat them as he did, even if he himself was not always fully aware of their pre-history.

Already in the second century, Revelation was linked to doctrinal controversies. In his *Against the Heresies* (*Adversus haereses*) Irenaeus of Lyons (*c.* 130–*c.* 202) grappled with a question which was evidently much discussed in his day: whether the thousand-year reign of the saints with Christ after the general resurrection prophesied in Rev. 20 would be a literal, earthly

11 This overview of patristic and early medieval Revelation exegesis in indebted to the following studies: Brian E. Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', in *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Bernard McGinn, 'Turning Points in Early Christian Apocalypse Exegesis', *Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity*, ed. Robert J. Daly (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009), pp. 81–105; E. Ann Matter, 'Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages', and 'The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis', *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 38–50; Wilhelm Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie*, chs. 1–2; G.W.H. Lampe, 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture. 1'; R.E. McNally, *The Bible in the Early Middle Ages* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1959), pp. 116–117.

kingdom. The problem was a delicate one: a literal Millennium seemed offensively crude, but spiritualizing the Millennium played into the hands of the Gnostics, who denigrated both the bodily resurrection and the value of the material universe. Irenaeus strove to defend the reality of the Millennium, while avoiding the more embarrassing kinds of literalism. Ambiguity also characterizes Irenaeus's ideas about the deadline for the end-times. On the one hand, he embraced the idea that world-history was divided into six ages corresponding to the days of Creation, and that the world would end in *annus mundi* 6000 (*Adv. haer.* 5.28.3). While he professed to accord no importance to any countdown to this date, the analogy between the week and the world-ages opens the way to an intertwining of chronology and eschatology, that would prove of great concern to Bede.[12] The figure of Antichrist also attracted Irenaeus's attention. This is an excellent example of the synthetic trend in patristic eschatology. Antichrist does not appear in Revelation. The only passages in the Bible which use the term 'Antichrist(s)' are 1 John 2:18 and 22, 4:3, and 2 John 7: the general idea in these epistles is that the present time is the 'last hour', and even now a person (or more than one person) is on earth who denies Christ and attempts to deceive the faithful. Irenaeus expanded the synthesis by identifying this Antichrist with both the 'man of lawlessness, the son of perdition' of 2 Thess. 2:3-4, who will usurp the title of God in the last days, and the blasphemous tyrant of Dan. 7:25, 8:25, and 11:36. Thus did Antichrist begin to take form as a bloodthirsty ruler, who would demand divine worship, and whose appearance would inaugurate the last days (*Adv. haer.* 5.25.1; 28.2; 29.2).[13] Most importantly for our purposes, Irenaeus identifies the Beast of Rev. 13:18 as Antichrist, and the number of the Beast, 666, as a cipher of his name.[14] He also adds many extra-Biblical details, notably Antichrist's descent from the Hebrew tribe of Dan.

12 See below, section 3. This conflation is discussed by Jean Daniélou, 'La typologie millenariste de la semaine dans le christianisme primitif', *Vigiliae christianae* 2 (1948): 1–16, and Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century AD', *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 79–99. The belief in a world-week of six equal thousand-year 'days' is distinct from, but obviously closely related to, the idea of six ages of world history: see A. Luneau, *L'Histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Église: la doctrine des âges du monde* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1964), pp. 81–85, 209–217.

13 G.W. Lorein, 'The Antichrist in the Fathers and their Exegetical Basis', *Sacris erudiri* 42 (2003): 35–36.

14 One of Bede's suggested solutions to the cipher, *Teitan*, is already found in Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses* 5.30.3): see below, p. 205, n. 667.

This synthetic biography was solidified and enlarged by Hippolytus (martyred *c.* 235) in his *On Antichrist* (*De Antichristo*), an annotated anthology of Biblical passages allegedly referring to Antichrist. Hippolytus also added details on his own. Antichrist will be the perverse mirror image of Christ in every respect. However, he will not appear until the Roman Empire (represented by the beast of Rev. 11) is destroyed and replaced by ten kingdoms. Another precondition is the reappearance of Enoch and Elijah as preachers. Antichrist (the second beast of Rev. 13) will establish an empire in the Near East, restore the Temple of Jerusalem, and recruit the Jews to launch a persecution of Christians. Hippolytus also wrote a commentary on Daniel (*c*. 204), the oldest extant Christian Scriptural commentary, which lays out a similar scenario: Antichrist is the 'abomination of desolation' spoken of by the prophet (Dan. 11:31, 12:11). Hippolytus also set a date for the end-times. He argued that Christ was incarnated in the middle of the sixth millennium, i.e. in *annus mundi* 5500; thus the end will come 500 years after the death of Christ. At the same time, he pointed out that for the individual, the day of death is a sort of Judgement Day, when an account must be rendered for one's moral choices during life.

The sources available directly to Bede were marked by these prior preoccupations concerning Revelation: namely, the level of literal interpretation permissible, the issue of the timing of the end, and the integration of Antichrist as a dominant actor. They were also influenced by the current of allegorical or spiritual exegesis associated with Origen. Origen's references to Revelation and other apocalyptic passages in the Bible were few and scattered, but he did articulate two positions which were destined to exert considerable influence: first, the prophecies of the end-times are in fact references to past events or perennial realities; and secondly, both Antichrist and the Millennium are symbols.

1.2 Victorinus of Pettau

The earliest surviving complete commentary on Revelation in Latin was composed by Victorinus, bishop of Pettau (Poetovium, modern Ptuj in Slovenia) and martyr (d. 304). It reflects the new trend towards a more sophisticated and spiritual reading of the text, grounded in the concept of *recapitulatio*. Recapitulation is a literary device for articulating the typological relationship between past, present, and future that was held to underpin the Bible. Victorinus observed that most of the book of Revelation does not follow a linear narrative sequence, but unfolds in a series

of tableaux, each of which recapitulates or reiterates the substance of the previous tableau, but using different imagery. The sevens seals, trumpets, and vials are all figures depicting the same content, but under different aspects. This content is also recapitulative, for it embraces the history of the Church from its inception until the end of time. Antichrist, for example, is both the future persecutor of the Church, and the Roman emperors who persecuted her in the past.[15] Through Tyconius's use of the *recapitulatio* idea, Bede would come to appreciate its value, both as a tool for structuring the text of Revelation, and as an exegetical principle that balanced history, moral exhortation, and eschatology.

Victorinus's series of tableaux ends at Rev. 16:17, when the angel pours out the seventh vial and the great voice cries from the throne, 'It is done'. From that point on, the text moves forward in an apparently direct chronological sequence, through the fall of Babylon; the victory of the Rider on the white horse over the beast, who is imprisoned; the 'first resurrection' of those beheaded for God, and their thousand-year reign with Christ; the release of the beast, his siege of Jerusalem and final defeat; the general resurrection and last judgement; and the transformation of heaven and earth. At this point, Victorinus apparently abandoned his spiritual reading of Revelation, and embraced a more literal eschatology, notably the notion of the earthly Millennium. By the end of the fourth century, the fact that a bishop and martyr held such views scandalized readers such as a certain Anatolius, who sent Victorinus's treatise to Jerome for his appraisal. Jerome's counter-attack on millenarian expectation was brief and brutal – *Cessat ergo mille annorum fabula* ('That puts an end to the myth of the Millennium!').[16] But he was acutely aware that the ambiguous or even openly chiliast views of

15 Victorinus/Jerome 86.6-8; Lorein, 'The Antichrist in the Fathers', pp. 41–42. On Victorinus's approach to the text of Revelation in general, see M. Dulaey, introduction to her edition of the original version of Victorinus's commentary in *Victorin de Poetovio, Sur l'Apocalypse. Suivi du Fragment chronologique de De la construction du monde*. Sources chrétiennes 423 (Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 1997), pp. 37–38; McGinn, 'Introduction', p. 14; Adela Yarbro Collins, 'The Book of Revelation', *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*, p. 98; Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', p. 232; Matter, 'The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis', p. 39, and 'Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages', p. 30. It should be noted that recapitulation, by allowing the text to speak to the present as well as to the past and the future, leaves open a door to reading contemporary events, if not as apocalyptic signs, at least as apocalyptic symbols.

16 *In Dan.* 2.7.17/18 (848.13-14). Some manuscripts read *Cesset…*, 'Let the myth of the Millennium be suppressed!'

many respected Fathers made its 'end' less than final.[17] Victorinus's status as a martyr also made it difficult for Jerome to simply condemn his work, and so he set about producing a revised edition instead, replacing references to a literal Millennium with a more Origenist reading.[18] The result was a sober and spiritualized reading of Revelation, albeit with an enlarged role for Antichrist.

1.3 Apocalyptic Retreats and Revivals in the Fourth Century

The early and mid-fourth-century Fathers who basked in the exhilarating warmth of the Peace of the Church found literal readings of Revelation irrelevant and even embarrassing. The drive to tame John's vision and integrate it into a broader doctrinal synthesis also had a political dimension: for example, a belief in the thousand-year messianic kingdom on earth implied that there would be a future earthly dispensation which would replace both the institutional Church and the Christian Empire – hardly a politic notion in the age of Constantine and Theodosius.[19] But when the fortunes of the Empire wavered, interest in the end-times revived. Even Ambrose of Milan, normally an Origenist when it came to eschatology, thought that the death of the emperor Valens at Hadrianople in 378 was a sign of the approaching end-times.[20] As the fourth century drew to a close, apocalyptic rumours and

17 In the prologue to *On Isaiah* (*In. Is.*), Jerome says, 'I know how much difference there is among people…about the way in which John's Apocalypse is to be understood. To take it according to the letter is to "Judaize". If we treat it in a spiritual way (as it was written), we seem to go against the views of many older authorities: Latins, such as Tertullian, Victorinus and Lactantius; Greeks, such as Irenaeus…': *In Is.* 18, prol., 741.15-20; trans. McGinn, 'Introduction', pp. 18–19. On Jerome's shifting attitudes towards millenarianism and his ambivalence towards Victorinus, see M. Dulaey, 'Jérôme, Victorin de Poetovio et le Millénarisme', *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*, ed Y.-M. Duval (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1988), pp. 83–98, and 'Jérôme "éditeur" du Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse de Victorin de Poetovio', *Revue des études augustiniennes* 37 (1991): 199–236; Gryson, 'Commentaires [part 1]', p. 307.

18 The critical edition of Victorinus/Jerome by Johannes Haussleiter (see Abbreviations) gives facing-page texts of the *editio Victorini* and Jerome's emended version in three versions: 'Y'; a post-Vulgate recension, 'O'; and a later version that conflates the two: Matter, 'Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis', p. 38, n. 1.

19 François Paschoud, 'La doctrine chrétienne et l'idéologie impériale romaine', *L'Apocalypse de Jean: Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques: IIIe–XIIIe siècles*, ed. Yves Christe (Geneva: Droz, 1979) pp. 31–72. See also Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie*, pp. 71–72; Gerald Bonner, 'Augustine and Millenarianism', *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick*, ed. Rowan Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 235–254 at 247–248.

20 *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* 10.10 and 14, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 14 (1957),

speculations intensified among both Jews and Christians. Sulpicius Severus (d. *c.* 420) even thought that the conversion of the Empire to the Faith was ominous, for it left only one persecution to come: Antichrist's. His hero, St Martin of Tours (d. 397), was persuaded that Antichrist had already been born.[21]

Very little of this was translated into exegesis on Revelation, though Bede may have caught the echoes of these sentiments in the poems of Venantius Fortunatus and Paulinus of Nola.[22] One aspect of the new apocalypticism was certainly known to him: a fresh concern with the approaching year AD 500. Speculation had been abroad since the days of Hippolytus and of Sextus Julius Africanus (*c.* 160–*c.* 240), who calculated that Christ had been born in *annus mundi* 5500; if one believed that the world would last 6000 years, this pinpointed AD 500 as the date of the end. The work entitled *On the Duration of the World* (*De mundi duratione*) by Quintus Julius Hilarianus, composed around 397, ended with a scenario of the end-times based

328.10-112 and 349.156–350.161.

21 Oded Irshai, 'Dating the Eschaton: Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Calculations in Late Antiquity', *Apocalyptic Time*, ed. Albert I. Baumgarten (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 113–53; Markus, 'Living within Sight', p. 32. On Sulpicius Severus's beliefs concerning the imminence of Antichrist, see McGinn, 'The End of the World', p. 61, *Antichrist*, p. 68; Clare Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983): pp. 38, 41–42, 79; G.K. van Andel, *The Christian Concept of History in the Chronicle of Sulpicius Severus* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1976), 117 *sqq.*; J. Vaesen, 'Sulpice Sévère et la fin des temps', *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst and Andries Welkenhuysen. Mediaevalia Lovaniensia Series I/Studia XV (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), pp. 49–71. Perhaps the strangest expression of this pervasive anxiety was the chronicle of Hydatius, bishop of Aquae Flaviae in Galicia 428–*c.* 449. Though this chronicle was one of the many continuations of Jerome's Latin adaptation of Eusebius's chronicle, it was apparently not known to Bede. Hydatius's copy of Eusebius/Jerome contained an interpolation based on the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Thomas*, predicting Christ's return at the close of the seventh Jubilee following his ascension, i.e. 27 May 482: see Richard W. Burgess, 'Hydatius and the Final Frontier: The Fall of the Roman Empire and the End of the World', *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. Ralph W. Mathiesen and Hagith S. Sivan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), pp. 321–332. The *Apocalypse of Thomas* was widely diffused in the Latin West, and a number of variant versions were also available in Old English from the ninth century onwards. It is the source of the motif of the seven-day or fifteen-day countdown to the Last Judgement, sometimes mapped across the days of a week: see M. Förster, 'A New Version of the Apocalypse of Thomas in Old English', *Anglia* 73 (1955): 6–36; W.W. Heist, *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952); R. Faerber, 'L'Apocalypse de Thomas en vieil-anglais', *Apocrypha* 5 (1994): 125–129. It is possible that Bede's apparently digressive discussions in *The Reckoning of Time* on some Biblical expressions regarding time, including the Seventy Prophetic Week of Dan. 9:24-25 (ch. 9) and the Jubilee (ch. 8) may be designed to prevent their use for apocalyptic speculation.

22 Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', pp. 235–239.

on Revelation, and declared that Antichrist would come in *annus mundi* 6000; as he dated the Passion to AM 5530, this would work out to about AD 498. Hilarianus closes with a bald statement that there were only 101 years left to the end.[23] Bede's hostility to such calculations is a significant background story to his *Commentary on Revelation*, and will be discussed in greater detail below.

This age of apocalyptic revival also produced three exceptional writers, who tackled the implications of Revelation directly: Jerome (*c*. 331–420), Tyconius, and Augustine (354–430). Collectively they represent a reaction against speculation about dating the end, excessive literalism in the interpretation of apocalyptic imagery, and the rank growth of the legendary biography of Antichrist. Jerome's eschatology is not systematic, and his devotion to asceticism led him to stress personal over ecclesial or cosmic judgement, but his widely read commentaries on Daniel and Matthew, as well as his revision of Victorinus, diffused his approach to generations of readers. His commentary on Daniel canonized the identification of the beast of Dan. 11 with Antichrist, though it rejected some features of the Antichrist legend (e.g. that Antichrist will rebuild the Temple). Jerome also translated Eusebius's *Chronicle* and thereby promoted a new chronology of *annus mundi*, with Christ's incarnation dated to AM 5199. This was additional, if unintentional, insurance against speculation concerning AD 500.[24]

23 Ed. C. Frick, *Chronica minora* 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892), p. 171. For a translation of the relevant passage, see Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), pp. 52–53. See also Irshai, 'Dating the Eschaton', pp. 141–153; Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, ch. 10. The build-up to the year 500 also saw a flurry of original apocalyptic writing, some in the mode of Revelation, such as the *Apocalypse of Thomas*, and others in the form of journeys to the otherworld, such as the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Both circulated in the Latin west, and were particularly associated with monastic communities: Daley, 'Apocalypticism in early Christian Theology', pp. 244–246. Bede's account of the Vision of Dryhthelm (*HE* 5.12) is an otherworld-journey apocalypse. However, this genre in my view exerted no influence on the *Commentary on Revelation.*

24 On Jerome's *In Dan.* and Antichrist, see McGinn, *Antichrist*, pp. 74–75; Lorein, 'The Antichrist in the Fathers', pp. 47–51. Jerome himself excerpted the sections of his commentary relevant to Antichrist, as *De Antichristo.* This work was in turn abbreviated: see Régis Courtray, 'Nouvelles recherces sur la transmission du *De Antichristo* de Jérôme', *Sacris erudiri* 43 (2004): 33–53. On Jerome and the chronicle of Eusebius, see Alden Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1979), pp. 146–147; R. Croke, 'The Origins of the Christian World Chronicles', *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, ed. R. Croke and Alanna M. Emmett (Sydney and Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1983), pp. 120–121; Richard Landes, 'Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Historiography 100–800 CE', *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, pp. 138–139, 146–150.

1.4 Tyconius

While Jerome would prove a potent and useful authority for Bede and others, his direct influence on the exegesis of Revelation pales before that of his North African contemporaries, Tyconius and Augustine. Very little is known about the life of Tyconius (d. *c.* 390). He was a layman, and a loyal adherent of the Donatist church, though often at odds with his sect. Despite this affiliation, Tyconius was openly admired by Jerome and Augustine, both for his treatise on exegetical hermeneutics, the *Book of Rules*, and for his commentary on Revelation. The full original text of Tyconius's commentary has been lost. What survives are some fragments, a segment of an adaptation, and a number of suggestive parallel passages in the commentaries of Victorinus/Jerome, Primasius, Caesarius of Arles, Bede, and particularly Beatus of Liébana. On the basis of a critical evaluation of all these witnesses, Roger Gryson has produced a reconstruction of Tyconius's commentary, with a companion volume containing a translation into French.[25]

Donatism may also have affected the survival of Tyconius's writings, for the trail of textual transmission of his commentary on Revelation goes cold in the Carolingian period. A ninth-century catalogue of books in the library of St Gall records a copy, but it is described as a *volumen vetus*, an old book.[26] However, three segments of the original commentary were recovered in two stages from the bindings of two books from the library of the Jesuit seminary in Bratislava, and are now in the Central Catholic Seminary in Budapest (MS S. Fr. L. m. 1): these 'Budapest fragments' cover the commentary from Rev. 6:6 to the first part of verse 13.[27] Their claim to be Tyconius's original

25 *Tyconii Afri Expositio Apocalypseos. Accedunt eiusdem expositionis a quodam retractatae fragmenta Tauriensia,* ed. Roger Gryson, CCSL 107A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); Tyconius, *Commentaire de l'Apocalypse*, trans. Roger Gryson, Corpus christianorum in translation 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). References to the text are signalled by the abbreviation 'Tyconius'; references to Gryson's introductions by either 'Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction' or 'Gryson, Tyc. trans. Introduction' as appropriate.

26 Roger Gryson, 'Fragments inédits du Commentaire de Tyconius sur l'Apocalypse', *Revue bénédictine* 107 (1997): 189–226.

27 Edited by Gryson, 'Fragments inédits', pp. 197–200 and 224–226. The convoluted process by which these fragments were recovered and published is described by Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction, ch. 2.1. The discovery of the first two fragments was announced by A. Pincherle, 'Nuovi frammenti di Ticonio', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiose* 5 (1969): 756–757 and 'Alla ricerca di Ticonio', *Studi storico-religiosi* 2 (1978): 355–365. However, only the third fragment was edited by the scholar responsible for the discoveries, L. Mezey, 'Egy korai karoling kódextöred (Ticonius in Apocalypsin?)', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 92 (1976): 15–24, and 'Un fragment de codex de la première époque carolingienne (Ticonius in Apocalipsin?)', in

text rests on certain features missing from an edited and abridged version of the commentary found in the tenth-century Bobbio manuscript now in Turin (Biblioteca nazionale universitaria F. iv. 18), known as the 'Turin fragments' and covering Rev. 2:18–4:1 and 7:16–12:6. [28] The Turin abbreviation edits the substance of Tyconius's exegesis to suppress his numerous allusions to the religious tensions in North Africa, but Gryson argues that these so-called 'catholicized' passages do not contradict Tyconius's views as reported by Augustine. The revision was probably carried out in North Africa by a disciple of Augustine, not long after the bishop's death.[29]

Tyconius's purpose was to illuminate the distinctive language of the Spirit in Revelation. In this unique, divine rhetoric, every detail is significant, but also unsettling and obscure. Separate symbols in the same scene can have a single referent (e.g. the throne, the living creatures and the Elders in Rev. 4 – even the heaven where the vision takes place – all stand for the Church). Genus and species are interchangeable. From the viewpoint of the divine Author, time is not linear, so the text uses 'recapitulation' to move back and forth from past, to present, to future.[30] Therefore Antichrist is not only an individual who will appear in the future, but also a force already at work in the world, though not yet able to exert its full apocalyptic strength. The millennial kingdom of Rev. 20 is the Church itself, founded at the Resurrection, and the thousand years is a figure referring to the indeterminate

---

Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata, ed. P. Cockshaw, M.-C. Garand and P. Jodogne. Les publications de Scriptorium 8 (Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 41–50. Many commentators on Tyconius were only aware of this third fragment, notably K.B. Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*.

28 The first edition by A. Amelli, 'Tyconii Afri fragmenta commentarii in Apocalipsin', *Spicilegium Casinense* 3.1 (Monte Cassino: Typis Archiocenobii Montis Cassini, 1897): 263–331, has been replaced by the editions of Lo Bue and Gryson (see Abbreviations).

29 Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction 28–35; 'Commentaires [part 1]', p. 313; 'Fragments inédits', pp. 189–190.

30 Gryson, Tyc. trans. Introduction, ch. 1, and M. Dulaey, 'La sixième règle de Tyconius et son résumé dans le "De doctrina christiana"', *Revue des études augustiniennes* 35 (1989): 83–103. On Tyconius's approach to Revelation, see also Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', pp. 240–241, as well as Paula Fredriksen, 'Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity from John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo', *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991): 151–183, 'Tyconius and Augustine on the Apocalypse', *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 20–37, and Paula Fredriksen Landes, 'Tyconius and the End of the World', *Revue des études augustiniennes* 28 (1982): 59–75. The classic study by Traugott Hahn, *Tyconius-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche 6/2 (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1991, repr. of Leipzig, 1900 ed.), remains valuable despite his limited knowledge of the text of Tyconius's commentary.

historical time-span of the Church's existence. What John's vision 'reveals' is the hidden truth about the present. Moreover, for Tyconius, the Church was a 'bipartite body' (*corpus bipartitum*) of saints and sinners, who would only be separated at the end of time. Thus the frontier between good and evil passes not only between pagans and Christians, but through the very centre of the Church itself. This aggravated his fellow Donatists, for whom membership in the 'pure' Donatist church constituted a manifest sign of salvation, while all outside the community were without exception damned. Finally, Tyconius presented Revelation as a thematic and theological unity. Its unique subject was the Church itself, the Body of Christ, extending his salvific mission to the end of time. All the visionary imagery and oracles of Revelation point to this single, central mystery.[31]

Tyconius's approach nonetheless never completely evacuates the prophetic character of Revelation. The historic combat of good and evil will culminate in a final crisis at the end of time, a crisis foretold in Revelation. Certainly Bede did not regard Tyconius as a doctrinaire allegorist: in the preface to the *Commentary*, he even criticized him for interpreting the persecution of the Donatists as prefiguring the eschatological confrontation.[32] But by producing an exposition that was (in Roger Gryson's words) politically correct, theologically acceptable and spiritually useful, Tyconius ensured that the Western Church, unlike the Eastern, would embrace the book of Revelation not only into its canon of Scripture, but into the main channels of its religious thinking.[33]

1.5 The Tyconian Tradition from Augustine to the End of the Sixth Century

Tyconius's eschatology was disseminated and validated for western Christians by Augustine, who in a sense 'sponsored' Tyconius, just as Jerome guaranteed the orthodoxy of Victorinus.[34] However, the nature and extent

31 Gryson, Tyc. trans. Introduction, ch. 2.

32 The Budapest fragments reveal that Tyconius definitely saw current events in Africa as prefiguring the future appearance of Antichrist: Budapest fragment IIva 11-20, ed. Gryson 'Fragments inédits', pp. 198–199 and 214–216. See also Frederiksen Landes, 'Tyconius and the End of the World'. Augustine criticized Gaudentius for holding such beliefs: *Contra Gaudentium* 1.27.30-31, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 53 (1910), pp. 228–230.

33 Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction, p. 7.

34 Matter, 'Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages', p. 31.

of Tyconius's influence on Augustine is matter for debate.[35] It is certain, however, that, Augustine's views on the end-times became less literal over the course of his life. In his homilies on the epistles of John, he concentrates on spiritualizing and moralizing the figure of Antichrist, who becomes a symbol for heretics, schismatics, and bad Christians.[36] Augustine made two singularly significant and highly influential contributions to eschatology in general, and to Bede's exegesis of Revelation in particular. It was Augustine's considered view (articulated in *The City of God* 20.30) that the history of the Sixth Age, from Incarnation to the Last Judgement, was essentially homogeneous. No events *within* the Sixth Age constituted significant turning points, so the prophecies of Revelation and cognate texts could not apply to current situations. Thus in his correspondence with bishop Hesychius (*Ep.* 197–199), Augustine articulated why it was impossible, unwise, and unnecessary to speculate whether the end-times had actually begin, or to attempt to calculate the deadline for the end of the world. In *The City of God* 20, on the other hand, he declared his confidence that the *timeline* of the events of the eschaton, once they were set in train, could be clearly established.[37] Bede cited the correspondence with Hesychius in the *Letter to Plegwin* (708), his defence of the chronology of world-history which he had proposed in *On Times*. *On Times* and the *Letter to Plegwin* are closely bound up with the composition of the *Commentary on Revelation*, and I shall discuss the letter to Hesychius in detail when I examine the circumstances of the composition of the *Commentary* below in section 3 of this Introduction. In the *Commentary*, Bede will not only refer frequently to *The City of God*, but he will use Augustine's timeline of the eschaton as the exegetical key to the book of Revelation. This is discussed more fully in section 4.

While apocalyptic excitement ebbed and flowed in the sixth century, this is also a period which sees a revival of commentaries on Revelation, both in Greek (Oecumenicus, Andrew of Caesarea) and in the West (Apringius of

35 Roger Gryson argues that Tyconius's commentary underlies the whole final section of *The City of God*: 'Commentaires [part 1]', p. 311. Others warn that this dependence is easily overstated, e.g. M. Dulaey, 'L'Apocalypse. Augustin et Tyconius', *Saint Augustin et la Bible*, ed. A.M. La Bonnardière, Bible de tous les temps, v. 3 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1986), pp. 369–396; Bonner, 'Augustine and Millenarianism'.

36 McGinn, *Antichrist*, p. 77; see Augustine's *In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos* 3.4-10 (PL 35.1199-2003) and 7.2 (2030). Bede quotes frequently from these homilies in his own commentary in 1 John.

37 Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', pp. 240–243; Markus, 'Living within Sight', p. 27; McGinn, 'The End of the World', p. 62.

Beja,[38] Caesarius of Arles, and Primasius). The commentary of Primasius is our chief concern, because it is a major resource for Bede.

Primasius, bishop of Hadrumentum or Justiniapolis (modern Sousse in Tunisia) from 527 to 565, was a staunch anti-Arian and a vigorous supporter of the emperor Justinian's *reconquista* of the Vandal kingdom of north Africa. His commentary on Revelation is permeated by his hostility to Arian heresy, which the historic circumstances of his life encouraged him to identify with tyranny and persecution. As we shall see, this rubbed off on Bede.[39] Primasius was pleased to align his commentary on Revelation with the authority of Augustine, book 20 of whose *The City of God* was his major source for the exegesis of Revelation 20–21. He was also deeply in debt to Tyconius, whom he frequently quotes verbatim, but often without acknowledgement.[40] Indeed, Primasius is rather churlish on the subject of Tyconius, because he was a Donatist. In his prologue he states,

> …but I also culled some material from the late Tyconius the Donatist which was amenable to correct interpretation. What I chose from this, I brought into line with Catholic standards, suppressing what was tangential, pruning what was unsuitable, adjusting what was crude. For I found many things in this work of his which were superfluous, foolish, and opposed to sound doctrine, as when he gives a specious interpretation in some harmful passages, following the depravity of his heart, for the sake of that controversy which lies between his folk and us, and when he fancies he makes a biting mockery of our Church by his offensive exegesis. It is no wonder that a heretic turns something to his own advantage; rather, it is a wonder that he discovered things that are worth collecting, though he dared to do so who had no right. It was our care to proceed truthfully, as the opportunities of the text presented themselves, and to root out their errors by clear demonstration. For just as a wise man should value a jewel found in a dung-heap, pick it up, and restore it to its pristine worth, so truth, wherever it shines forth, is to be alleged in defence of Catholic unity.[41]

38 Virtually the only post-Tyconian western commentator who worked outside the range of Tyconius's influence was Apringius of Beja (*fl.* 531–548). His commentary, edited by Gryson in *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*, CCSL 107 (2003), pp. 13–97, was not known to Bede.

39 On Primasius's commentary, see Bonner, *Saint Bede*, pp. 7–8, and A.W. Adams's introduction to his edition (see Abbreviations).

40 Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction, pp. 47–50; Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius* pp. 81, 88; Matter, 'The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis', p. 41. The source apparatus of Adams's edition is not altogether reliable or complete: see Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, p. 72.

41 Primasius 1.7–2.21; my translation. For Bede's more generous views on Tyconius, see below, pp. 29–30.

Primasius also betrays his use of Tyconius in his numerous references to 'another version' (*alia editio*) or 'another translation' (*alia translatio*) of the Biblical text; in many cases, this is the North African version of the Vetus Latina used by Tyconius. Bede reproduces a number of these variant readings. Primasius also absorbed Jerome's revision of Victorinus, which he used extensively, often without acknowledgement. In this respect, his influential commentary both distilled and disinfected the problematic earlier tradition of exegesis on Revelation. Primasius was a cautious reader of Revelation, and apparently uninterested in the imminence of the last days. Finally, his was the first commentary to propose that Revelation has an internal structure and meaningful divisions; it was according to these divisions that he organized the five books of his commentary.[42]

Another important channel for the diffusion of Tyconius's thought was the commentary by Caesarius of Arles, Primasius's older contemporary. It circulated in the Middle Ages under the name of Augustine, and was restored to its rightful author by its editor, G. Morin.[43] Caesarius undoubtedly encountered the work of Tyconius when he was a young man in the monastery of Lérins, the gateway through which the African's commentary entered Europe in the second half of the fifth century.[44] It is almost certain that Bede did not use Caesarius directly, an issue to which we will return below.

Full-scale commentaries on Revelation were not the only vehicles for the Tyconian tradition. Tyconius was also a resource for briefer and less ambitious expositions such as Cassiodorus's *Complexiones in epistulis apostolorum et actibus apostolorum et Apocalypsi* (*Collections about the Catholic Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles and Revelations*). In his *Institutiones* (*Institutes of Divine and Human Learning*) 1.9.3, Cassiodorus mentions a copy of Tyconius's commentary at Viviarium which he had annotated to flag the passages he approved or rejected, in the same manner as he had annotated the works of Origen. Despite reservations, he held the commentary in high regard, praising Tyconius for explaining the Apocalypse 'with subtlety and style' (*subtiliter et eleganter*). However, the *Complexiones*

42 Matter, 'Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages', pp. 31–32.

43 For bibliographic information, see Abbreviations. On the commentary and its diffusion, see Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, pp. 45 *sqq.*, Gryson, 'Commentaires [part 1]', pp. 317–321; G. Morin, 'Le commentaire homilétique de S. Césaire sur l'Apocalypse', *Revue bénédictine* 45 (1933): 43–61; G. Langgärtner, 'Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Caesarius von Arles', *Theologie und Glaube* 57 (1967): 210–225. Gryson disputes the common perception that this commentary was a suite of sermons: Tyc. ed. Introduction, p. 36.

44 Gryson, 'Commentaires [part 1]', p. 311.

survives in only one manuscript, Verona Bibl. Capitulare XXXIX (*c.* 600, Italy), and was not known to Bede.[45] Closer to Bede's milieu are three Irish texts: the so-called 'Irish Reference Bible' of uncertain date, but probably mid- or late eighth century, the *Commemoratorium in apocalypsin Ioannis apostoli* (*Commentary on the Revelation of John the Apostle*) by pseudo-Jerome,[46] and the lost early eighth-century commentary on Revelation that lies behind the glosses in Cambridge University Library MS Dd.X.16 (s. IX/X, n. France).[47] The 'Reference Bible', or *Bibelwerk* as it was termed by Bernhard Bischoff – its medieval title is *Pauca problesmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis* – is a collection of questions on every book of the Bible.[48]

45 The text has been edited by Roger Gryson, *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*, pp. 101–129. See also Gryson, 'Commentaires [part 1]', pp. 331–333, Tyc. ed. Introduction ch. 2.5. The question of whether Bede knew the *Institutiones* remains an open one: see Alan Thacker, *Bede and Augustine of Hippo: History and Figure in Sacred Text*, Jarrow Lecture, 2005, pp. 7–8 and n. 35.

46 The *Commemoratorium* and the Revelation section of the Reference Bible are edited by Roger Gryson, *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*, pp. 233–295 and 161–229. See also Gryson's introduction to this volume, pp. 8–9. G. McGinty's edition of the full Reference Bible is published in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 173 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000). Gryson's edition of pseudo-Jerome replaces the earlier ones by K. Hartung, *Ein Traktat zur Apokalypse des Ap. Johannes in einer Pergamenthandschrift der K. Bibliothek in Bamberg* (Bamberg: Gärtner, 1904) and Grazia Lo Menzo Rapisarda, *Incerti Auctoris commentarius in Apocalypsin. Miscellanea di studi di letteratura cristiana antica* 16 (Catania: Centro di studi sull'antico cristianesimo, 1967); repr. *Patrologia Latina Supplementum*, ed. A. Hamman (Paris: Garnier, 1958–1971) 4:1850–1863. For discussion, see Gryson, 'Commentaires [part 1]', pp. 333–337; K.B. Steinhauser, 'Bemerkungen zum pseudo-hieronymianischen Commemoratorium in Apocalypsin', *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 26 (1979): 220–242. Note that in the present translation, references to the *Commemoratorium* are to Gryson's edition; Gryson's apparatus to his edition of Bede, which appeared before his edition of pseudo-Jerome, cites Rapisarda's edition.

47 Identified and discussed by Lobrichon, 'Stalking the Signs'. Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction chapter 2.3 argues that the Irish source of the Cambridge glosses also underpins the glosses in the Micy Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 15679, c. 810), ed. by Gryson, *Commentaria minora* pp. 303–337. Gryson compares parallel passages from the Cambridge glosses to the *Commemoratorium* in his edition of the latter. He is preparing an edition of the Cambridge glosses for the *Corpus christianorum* series.

48 Bernhard Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Sacris erudiri* 6 (1954): 189–279, and repr. in his *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966), pp. 205–273. Bischoff's criteria for identifying Irish Biblical exegesis have been subject to criticism, notably by Michael Gorman, 'A Critique of Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis: The Commentary on Genesis in Munich Clm 6302 (Wendepunkte 2)', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (1997): 178–233, and 'The Myth of Hiberno-Latin Exegesis', *Revue bénédictine* 110 (2000): 42–85. The Irish character of the *Pauca problesmata* has been defended by Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction p. 56, and by Michael Herren, 'Irish Biblical

The section devoted to Revelation is disproportionately large, testifying to the interest this book held in Irish scholarly circles. The *Commemoratorium* is a kind of telegraphic reader's guide to the terminology and symbols of Revelation. It was composed between 550 at the earliest (the author uses Primasius) and 750, when it was used by Ambrosius Autpertus. Gryson argues for the earlier date, because the text uses the pre-Jerome version of Victorinus, which was more or less out of circulation after 600.[49] Both the 'Reference Bible' and the *Commemoratorium* drew on a lost commentary that apparently reproduced the text of Tyconius with great fidelity. Though Bede may not have used any of these works – indeed, the Reference Bible may have used Bede – the fact that three Irish commentaries on Revelation tapped into the Primasian-Augustinian-Tyconian tradition suggests that Bede's milieu was interested in the exegesis of Revelation, and both familiar with and broadly accepting of Tyconius's approach to the text.[50]

The final link in the exegetical chain leading to Bede, Gregory the Great, is in one sense the weakest, in that Gregory paid little attention to Revelation *per se*, preferring to anchor his eschatology in the Synoptics. However, Bede's heavy use of Gregory's *Moralia* and other works lends particular importance to the pope's views on the end-time. These views are quite complex. Gregory's sometimes dramatic declarations that the dire events of his day pointed to the approaching Judgement have been the object of much scholarly attention, and were familiar to Bede.[51] This rhetoric of

---

Commentaries Before 800', *Roma magistra mundi: Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L.E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), pp. 404–405.

49 Gryson, 'Commentaires [part 1]', p. 337, n. 101.

50 Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede', esp. pp. 395–399, 403–406 on Bede's possible uses of ps.-Jerome, and 'The Venerable Bede and Hiberno-Latin Exegesis', *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, Studies in Medieval Culture 20 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986), pp. 65–75. Kelly is persuaded that the Irish Reference Bible drew on Bede's commentary on Revelation.

51 R.A. Markus, 'Gregory and Bede: The Making of the Western Apocalyptic Tradition', *Gregorio Magno nel XIV centenario della morte*, Atti dei convegni Lincei 209 (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 2004), pp. 247–256, 'Living within Sight', *passim* and *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), ch. 4; R. Manselli, 'L'escatologia di Gregorio Magni', *Ricerche di storia religiosa* 1 (1954): 72–88; Claude Dagens, 'La fin des temps et l'Église selon Saint Grégoire le Grand', *Recherches de sciences religieuses* 58 (1970): 273–288; H. Savon, 'L'Antichrist dans l'oeuvre de Gregoire le Grand', *Grégoire le Grand*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet and Stan Pellistrandi (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1986), pp. 389–405; J.N. Hillgarth, 'Eschatological and Political Concepts in the Seventh Century', *Le septième siècle: changements et continuités. The Seventh Century:*

imminence fed off a resurgence of apocalyptic anxiety in the later sixth century – anxiety that even the passage of the ominous year 550 could not allay.[52] However, Gregory refused to speculate on dates; instead, he believed in preparing for the Second Coming by strenuous missionary and reformist activity. Signs of the end were evident, but not all of the prophesied signs had manifested themselves, and the very postponement of the end seemed to intensify Gregory's sense of urgency and moral seriousness. This ethical and pastoral eschatology, grounded in a vision of the future which was all the more powerful for being 'unscheduled', would have a deep impact on Bede.[53]

2. BEDE'S IMMEDIATE SOURCES AND HOW HE USED THEM

The complex and contested history of the exegesis of Revelation was funnelled to Bede through a handful of heavily used sources: the commentaries of Tyconius and Primasius, Augustine's writings, and particularly *The City of God*, Jerome's commentary on Daniel, and Gregory's homilies and *Moralia.*[54] To these we can add Victorinus in Jerome's revised version, though Bede seems to have made limited use of it, largely to supplement Tyconius and Primasius. Almost all the passages traceable to Victorinus/Jerome are also found in Tyconius or Primasius. However, Bede will occasionally use a turn of phrase or slip in a few words which indicate that he consulted the original (e.g. exegesis of Rev. 1:4, 4:4, 10:1).[55]

Change and Continuity, ed. Jacques Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1992), pp. 212–235; Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Medieval Theology', pp. 249–250; McGinn, 'The End of the World', pp. 69–70.

52 For a survey of references in contemporary Italian chronicles, see Fabio Troncarelli, 'Il consolato dell'anticristo', *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 30 (1989): 567–92.

53 See below, pp. 84–85. For a thorough discussion of the impact of Gregory's eschatological ideas on Bede, see Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 147–63, as well as R.A. Markus, '*Haec non longe sunt*: Gregory the Great on the Antichrist and the End', *Munera amicitiae: studi di storia e cultura sulla tarda antichità offerti a Salvatore Pricoco*, ed. Rossana Barcellona (Solverina Mannelli: Rubbettina, 2003), pp. 255–264; 'Gregory and Bede', *passim*, and 'Living within Sight', pp. 31–34, especially p. 33 on Gregory's hostility to *securitas* or complacency.

54 The definitive survey of Bede's sources is Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, ch. 4. The pioneering work was carried out by Bonner, *Saint Bede*.

55 Bede's copy of Victorinus/Jerome was apparently the Φ recension, which substitutes Irenaeus's reading of the number of the Beast in Rev. 13:18. Primasius used an earlier version of Victorinus/Jerome: see Gryson, 'Les commentaires patristiques latins de l'Apocalypse [part 2]', *Revue théologique de Louvain* 28 (1997): 484–502 at 485, and Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio*, pp. 364–365. Some historians doubt that Bede made direct use of Victorinus/Jerome, e.g. Matter, 'The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis', chart p. 42; Mackay, 'Sources and

Apart from these core texts, Bede had access to an exceptionally rich library, whose resources supplied specific kinds of information required by his exegetical task, such as the etymologies of names, or the elucidation of the properties of the precious stones in the foundations of the Heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 21:18-20). These sources were excerpted, paraphrased, spliced together, and marshalled into a tightly organized and compact gloss.

2.1 '*Commaticum interpretandi genus*'

At the end of his exposition of the twelve precious stones, Bede apologizes for dilating 'at greater length than was suitable for this summary style of commentary' – *quam commaticum interpretandi genus decebat*. Bede borrowed this expression from Jerome.[56] It refers to the visual arrangement of texts, particularly the text of the Bible, *per cola et commata*, 'by clauses and sections'. Instead of being written out in long lines or justified columns, the text was divided into clauses, and each clause began on a fresh line. *Per cola et commata* was deployed in some ancient Roman manuscripts, but came into its own in the Late Antique Bible. The Codex Amiatinus, created at Wearmouth-Jarrow in the early years of the eighth century, is laid out in this way. Its pages have a majestic aspect, enhanced by the stately script and generous use of space; but *per cola et commata* presentation also facilitates public reading. As well, it influenced exegesis; *commaticum interpretandi genus* was thus a concise style of commentary that followed the Biblical text, section by section. This was the approach taken by Bede's foundational sources, Tyconius and Primasius, and it may have had a special stylistic appeal for commentators on Revelation: as Gryson points out, it lends an air of nervous urgency not out of keeping with the gripping prophetic character of the Biblical text. If anything, this is more pronounced in the case of Bede, whose lemmata are much shorter than those of his sources.[57]

Style', p. 58. Lapidge does not include Victorinus/Jerome in his index of Bede's sources in *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

56 The phrase appears in Jerome's preface to his *Commentariorum in Matthaeus libri*, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCSL 77 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 4.92–5.93; cf. Jerome's translation of Origen's *Homeliae in Ezechielem* ed. W.A. Baehrens, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 33 (1925), pp. 31–32. See also P. Jay, *L'exégèse de saint Jérôme d'après son Commentaire sur Isaïe* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1985), pp. 76–80; George Hardin Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp. 69–70.

57 Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, pp. 133–134. Cf. Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric, Gregory and the Carolingians', *Roma, magistra mundi*, pp. 409–423 at 413; Holder, 'Bede and the New Testament', pp. 148–149.

However, Bede did not subject every verse to interpretation, or expound every clause of those verses he did treat. Of the 405 verses of Revelation, 32 are omitted entirely and 194 are only partially cited. This amounts to the omission of about one quarter of the text.[58] In some cases, Bede cites a verse in part, truncating with the words 'and so forth'. The omissions may, in certain circumstances, be significant, and these cases are discussed in the next section of this Introduction. On the other hand, Bede sometimes commented on parts of the text which he had truncated from the lemma (e.g. Rev. 1:4-5, 2:2-3) or even omitted altogether (e.g. Rev. 3:16), so one must conclude that he expected his readers to know, or have access to, the entire text. In most instances, however, omitted passages are passed over in silence.

When Bede expounds a whole verse, his custom is to break it into units of meaning, and then interpret each unit in a concise, self-contained exposition. Occasionally the closing sentence or phrase of his exposition forms a link to the next conceptual unit, creating a more sustained sense of flow. From time to time, Bede will refer backwards or forwards to other parts of the text. In the main, however, the *Commentary on Revelation* is a chain of short exegetical 'bites'; indeed, Bede's 'bites' are generally smaller than those found in Tyconius or Primasius, his foundational sources.[59] There are two exceptions to this pattern: the lengthy treatment of the signing of the Twelve Tribes (Rev. 7:5-8), and the allegorical interpretation of the twelve precious stones that constitute the foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem referred to above. The exposition of the Twelve Tribes essentially condenses Primasius, but the explanation of the Twelve Stones appears to be quite original. These two passages look like embedded sermons, particularly as each ends with a peroration. Some early copyists of the *Commentary* seem to have thought them excessive, and consequently dropped them after a few lines.[60]

It is important to note, however, that Bede only deployed this *commaticum* style in his earliest commentaries, namely those on Revelation and Acts. By 716 at the latest (when the commentary on 1 Samuel was written) he had adopted a more expansive exegetical voice. Nonetheless, interlocking thematic units and internal cross-references would remain signatures of his exegetical approach, even when it developed in more discursive directions.

58 Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 179. Both Tyconius and Primasius drop verses, though less frequently than does Bede. Most manuscripts of the *Commentary* are reasonably consistent in their presentation of the Biblical lemmata.

59 Mackay, 'Augustine and Gregory', p. 401.

60 E.g. Erfurt, Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek CA 4° 96 (ca 800), Gryson's MS *P*: Bede ed. Introduction, p. 36.

The embedded dilations on the Twelve Tribes and the foundation stones announce, so to speak, Bede's future potential.

2.2 A Mosaic of Quotations

Bede's *Commentary on Revelation* was probably composed at about the same time as his *On the Nature of Things*, and the two texts share some common methods of construction. In *On the Nature of Things*, Bede began by appropriating (with modifications) the structure of Isidore of Seville's book of the same name, together with some extracts from Isidore, cited without acknowledgement. He then proceeded to supplement, modify and correct this Isidorean base by substituting or adding material gathered from other writers, notably Pliny.[61] Another of Bede's early works, *On Figures and Tropes* (*De schematibus et tropis*), was constructed in a similar fashion, using Donatus's chapters on figures and tropes as the backbone.[62] In his *Commentary on Revelation*, the foundation course is Tyconius's and Primasius's commentaries. Primasius, like Isidore in *On the Nature of Things*, is actually occluded. On top of this armature, Bede adds details and qualifications from works which are not commentaries on Revelation, by major patristic writers such as Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory.[63] This method is complementary to the procedure Bede used in his collection of extracts from Augustine on the Pauline epistles, which is a single-author florilegium that assembles a 'virtual' commentary from fragmentary expositions of individual passages scattered through Augustine's writings.

Hence, despite the weight of his debt to Primasius, Bede mentions him by name only once, namely in connection with the decoding of the name of the Beast '666' in Rev. 13:18. Setting aside the prologue, Tyconius is named ten times. Augustine appears in person four times, Jerome twice and Gregory three times, though all these Fathers are actually used much more extensively. Venantius Fortunatus (Rev. 2:9) and Arator (Rev. 21:20) are explicitly acknowledged, and Bede undoubtedly consulted them directly;

61 See Calvin Kendall and Faith Wallis, trans., *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), introduction pp. 12–13.

62 See Calvin B. Kendall's introduction to his edition and translation of Bede, *Libri II De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis. The Art of Poetry and Rhetoric* (Saarbrücken: AQ-Verlag, 1991), pp. 23–24, and Louis Holtz, 'Bède et la tradition grammaticale latine', *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité/The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity*, ed. Stephane Lebecq, Michel Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack (Lille: CEGES – Université Charles de Gaulle, 2005), pp. 9–18.

63 Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 162; Mackay, 'Augustine and Gregory', p. 402.

his quotation from Ignatius of Antioch (Rev. 18:21) was culled from Jerome's *De uiris illustribus*, that from Cyprian of Carthage (Rev. 9:6) from Jerome's *Vita Pauli*, and the paraphrase of Dionysius of Alexandria (22:7) from Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* in Rufinus's Latin translation. Read without a source apparatus, Bede's text looks like a largely original composition, frankly indebted to Tyconius's commentary, and endorsed by the greatest authorities of Latin Christianity. As we shall see, this was exactly the impression Bede desired to convey. But if read alongside the superb *apparatus fontium* of Roger Gryson's critical edition of the *Commentary on Revelation*, the overall impression is of an artfully assembled mosaic of quotations and paraphrases, some as short as a few words, others composed of whole sentences.[64] An example will serve to illustrate the method, drawn from the exposition of Rev. 18:3: 'and the merchants of the earth have been made rich by the power of her delicacies': 'They are said to be *rich in sins* [Tyconius] who *for temporal gain trade their own souls, in a doleful commerce* [Primasius]. For *abundance of luxury makes them poor rather than rich* [Tyconius]'.

Such creative interweaving of his sources shows that Bede's reliance on patristic authority was not merely a symptom of youth and inexperience, but a conscious craftsmanship and policy. Indeed, exegesis by excerpting was a relatively new method in Bede's day, though it was strategically practised by Jerome[65], and would become commonplace by the Carolingian period. It required some explanation and justification, and Bede provided this, to some extent, in his Preface. Later, Bede would employ a system of abbreviated marginal source-marks in his Gospel commentaries; there are no such marks, however, in manuscripts of the *Commentary on Revelation.*[66] Bede's exchange of letters with Acca, prefaced to the *Commentary on Luke*, suggests that he developed this system in response to criticisms of his commentary-by-excerpt method, notably in the exegesis of Rev. 4:7.[67] Acca encouraged

64 Mackay, 'Sources and Style', p. 54; 'Augustine and Gregory', pp. 401–402.

65 Megan Hale Williams, *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 192–197. Jerome's defence of this method as especially appropriate to monastic humility may have appealed to Bede.

66 Mackay, 'Sources and Style', p. 57.

67 *In Luc.* 7.105-11; cf. *In Marc.* (432.39-54) and see below, pp. 134–135, n. 181. Mark Stansbury, 'Source Marks in Bede's Biblical Commentaries', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 383–389; Michael Gorman, 'Source Marks and Chapter Division in Bede's *Commentary on Luke*', *Revue bénédictine* 112 (2002): 246–290. The system is described by Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.26.1, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 67. For examples in extant MSS of Bede's works,

Bede to continue with this method, citing precedents in Augustine, Gregory, and Ambrose. Bede never totally abandoned commentary-by-excerpt; the sixth book of his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* is explicitly a suite of excerpts from Gregory. He claimed to be imitating Paterius's anthology of exegetical extracts from Gregory, a work he knew only by reputation.[68]

Commenting by excerpting also suited Bede's intention to distil, and thereby in some measure recreate the heritage of Christian erudition for the young English Church. As he remarks in this preface to the *Commentary on Revelation*, his aim was to present the solid substance of Catholic tradition in a digested form that would be palatable to a people who were (in his view) slothful and not enthusiastic about reading. Behind this chiding we can perhaps glimpse something of how Bede himself learned and taught the Bible. Contemporary Irish scholars seem to have worked through the text using a combination of paraphrase, amplification and 'crisp notes or quotations based on named patristic sources',[69] and this is consonant with Bede's commentary-by-excerpt style. But this method was also a vehicle for particularly monastic intentions. To form one's own text, even one's own prayer, from the substance of one's spiritual reading is the classic form of early medieval monastic *meditatio*: thus Bede says that he built on the commentary of Tyconius by adding 'as far as we are able, from material handed down from our teachers, or from recollecting what we have read [*memoria lectionis*], or even from the resources of our own understanding. For we have it from the commandments that we should repay to the Lord the talent which we have received, with interest'.[70]

---

see M.L.W. Laistner, 'Source-marks in Bede Manuscripts', *Journal of Theological Studies* 34 (1933): 350–354.

68 *In Cantica Canticorum* 6.17-23 (CCSL 119B, 359); cf. Stansbury, 'Source Marks', pp. 387–388.

69 Herren, 'Irish Biblical Commentaries Before 800', p. 396.

70 Ed. p. 231.126–232.133; see translation below, p. 105. The phrase *memoria lectionis* points to monastic *meditatio*, which was often simply the memorization of Scripture; A. De Vogüé consistently translates *meditatio* as 'mémorisation' in his edition of the *Regula magistri*, Sources chrétiennes 105–109 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1964). See also P. Catry, 'Lire l'Écriture selon saint Grégoire le Grand', *Collectanea cisterciensia* 34 (1972): 177–201. Bede's account in *HE* 4.24 (414–420) of the illiterate poet Caedmon's weaving of text from reminiscences of Scripture and liturgy – which earns him automatic admission to Hild's monastery – is an apt illustration of monastic composition: see Philip J. West, 'Rumination in Bede's Account of Caedmon', *Monastic Studies* 12 (1976): 217–236, and (on the imagery of 'eating the book') Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 123–124. On the meditative dimension of Bede's exegetical works, see Gerald Bonner, 'Bede: Scholar and Spiritual Teacher', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, pp. 368–369.

An important ingredient of Bede's craft was, therefore, wide background reading. Roger Gryson imagines Bede embarking on his project to comment on Revelation by systematically scanning all the writings of the Fathers at his disposal, pen in hand; he noted relevant passages on index cards (*schedulae*), and slotted them into the appropriate place in his 'base-line' commentary.[71] Gryson's reconstruction is based on Bede's statement in his letter to Bishop Acca prefacing *In Lucam* that he has had to act as *dictator*, *notarius* and *scriptor* in preparing this work. He proceeds to explain how after looking through the works of Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory for what they had to say about Luke, he copied into his own work exactly what they said, or a close paraphrase. To save time and effort, he adopted the source-mark system of reference. Then he added a few comments of his own. There are problems, however, in taking this as a straightforward description of Bede's working methods. Not only was it unusual for Bede to act as his own secretary and scribe (indeed, he offers these exceptional circumstances as an excuse for his tardiness), but his explanation of his treatment of the Fathers seems designed to explain the innovative marginal source-marks, and perhaps deflect accusations of plagiarism. Finally, Bede does not mention *schedulae*. Pliny the Elder worked with index cards, but he had an enabling infrastructure of slave-secretaries; moreover, the culture of reading in a medieval monastery has its own distinctive laws, and even its own ways of storing and ordering the contents of material read, associated with contemplative rumination or *meditatio*.

2.3 Reconstructing Bede's Use of Tyconius

While it is evident that the bulk of Bede's *Commentary* is actually drawn from Primasius, Gerald Bonner was convinced

> that there is in fact a considerable quantity of unacknowledged Tyconian quotation in Bede. Some of this can be identified by collation with other commentators indebted to Tyconius, like Beatus, Caesarius, and the Tyconian Fragments of Turin, while other passages may be provisionally identified as being by Tyconius because of their agreement with his characteristic theology. By these tests the number of apparently Tyconian citations in Bede becomes so considerable as to imply that Bede had a very genuine admiration for Tyconius' writings. Naturally, he deplored his Donatism; but unlike Primasius he spoke of Tyconius himself with respect and admitted that he had followed the pattern of his commentary in his own work. For this reason I would suggest that Bede's qualitative debt

71 Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 163.

to Tyconius is greater than his quantitative debt to Primasius and regard him as reasserting the Tyconian tradition in Apocalyptic commentary.[72]

In the appendix to his lecture, Bonner included a survey of Tyconian passages in Bede's *Commentary*. This survey applied a method that had been proposed as early as the nineteenth century for identifying references to or quotations from Tyconius's lost commentary by collating parallel passages in the commentaries of Bede, Cassiodorus, Primasius, Beatus and others. Parallels which could not be traced to any other shared source, and which exhibited patterns of thought known to be characteristic of Tyconius, could legitimately be ascribed to his pen. This method, while in theory defensible, often broke down in practice, due to a lack of adequate understanding of the sources and methods of each of these authors, and in particular, a failure to account for the possibility that some witnesses (like Bede) may have been reading others (like Primasius) as well as – or instead of – reading Tyconius directly. These failings provoked criticism of the method,[73] but also inspired refinements. Roger Gryson's reconstruction of Tyconius's commentary is the culmination of this process.[74] The source apparatus in Gryson's edition of Bede is based on the same method.

Bede evidently had very high regard for Tyconius, and drew on his commentary extensively. Unlike Cassiodorus or Primasius, he usually

72 Bonner, *Saint Bede*, p. 13.

73 Notably by H.L. Ramsay, 'Le commentaire de l'*Apocalypse* de Béatus de Liébana', *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 7 (1902): 238 *et sqq.*, who shows that many of the passages assigned by Hahn to Tyconius are in fact from Isidore and Gregory. Cf. Yves Christe, 'Beatus et la tradition latine des commentaires sur l'*Apocalypse*', *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del commentario al Apocalypsis de Beato de Liébana* (Madrid: Joyas, 1978), p. 57.

74 For an account of the scholarship on Tyconius's text, see Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction, chapter 1. The comparative method was first proposed by Johannes Haussleiter, 'Die Kommentare des Victorinus, Tichonius und Hieronymus zur Apokalypse', *Zeitschrift für Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte und kirchliches Leben* 7 (1886): 239–257. It was taken up by W. Bossuet, *Die Offenbarung Johannes. Kritisch-exegetische Kommentar über das Neue Testament* v. 16 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896), Hahn, *Tyconius-Studien*, Kamlah's influential study *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie*, p. 12, and more recently by Pincherle, 'Alla ricerca di Ticonio', and Gerald Bonner, 'Towards a Text of Tyconius', *Studia Patristica 10. Papers Presented to the Fifth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1967*, ed. F.L. Cross, Texte und Untersuchungen 107 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970): 1, pp. 9–13. Steinhauser's synopsis of the contents of the lost commentary is also based on witness collation: see *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, pp. 23–26, 255–264 (*re:* principles of reconstruction) and 265–316 (the synopsis). It is strenuously criticized by Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction, p. 17.

refrained from flagging references to Tyconius with precautions or qualifications, even though he closes the *Commentary* with a rebuke to the Donatists and Pelagians. In short, he treats Tyconius as an authority, even when Tyconius's views depart from the patristic consensus (as at Rev. 16:17).[75] In Gryson's opinion, Bede is the most faithful witness to the exact wording of Tyconius's text of any of the exegetes who used it.[76]

2.4 The Occlusion of Primasius

Bede's virtual silence about his debt to Primasius is rather puzzling, given that Primasius's commentary was well known and highly valued in Bede's milieu. It is found in Bodleian Library MS Douce 140, a late seventh- or early eighth-century copy by insular scribes of a French half-uncial exemplar. The exemplar appears to have been copied from unbound gatherings – a trait of Irish books – and may have resided in a northern French centre with Irish connections, such as St-Riquier or St-Bertin. Palaeographical analysis points to Glastonbury as the home of the scribes, and *capitula* of Book 5 were added by St Boniface, who left England in 716. None of its highly distinctive readings can be found in Bede's *Commentary on Revelation*, but the fact that in the early decades of the eighth century there were at least two manuscripts of Primasius in England – Bede's and the Douce volume – is an index of interest in this commentary. It also strongly suggests that the Irish were agents for the diffusion of this text in northern Europe, and therefore probably in Northumbria as well.[77]

75 Vercruysse, 'Bède lecteur de Tyconius', pp. 24–17. Vercruysse argues that Bede transmitted Tyconius's views 'sans doute par souci d'exhaustivité' even when he disagreed with them (25), but in the light of Bede's purposes and his *modus operandi* in this *Commentary*, this does not seem plausible.

76 Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction, p. 62, and n. 158.

77 This summary is based on Adams's introduction to his edition of Primasius (see Abbreviations), pp. xiv–xv. For illustration and discussion of Douce Primasius, see Elias Avery Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores.* Pt 2, 2nd edn, ed. Virginia Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), no. 237; *Summary Catalogue* v. 4 (1897) 7.717-719. It is assigned on the basis of script to Glastonbury by Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435–1600 in Oxford Libraries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), no. 461, p. 74, and N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books. Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. Andrew G. Wilson (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987), p. 38.

2.5 Did Bede Read Caesarius?

The issue of Caesarius is more complex. Roger Gryson does not include Caesarius's commentary among Bede's immediate sources, though he uses Caesarius as a proxy for Tyconius.[78] Bede's first abbot, Benedict Biscop (d. 689), was trained as a monk at Lérins, as was Caesarius. Gryson argues that Biscop brought the text of Tyconius to England from Lérins; might he not have brought works by Caesarius as well? It is noteworthy that Bede quotes from a sermon of Caesarius in his exegesis of Rev. 3:6. Manuscripts of Caesarius's commentary were certainly in England in the ninth century,[79] and arguments have been made for Caesarius's influence on eschatological themes in Old English literature.[80] However, there is almost no sign that Bede knew Caesarius's commentary. Caesarius is heavily dependent on Tyconius, so agreement between Bede and Caesarius may, in fact, mean that both are drawing upon Tyconius independently, even when there is no corroboration from Primasius or Beatus. Indeed, where the Turin fragments survive, there is no instance of a verbatim parallel between Bede and Caesarius where there is not a substantial and sometimes quite close verbal cognate in the Turin fragments.[81] Bede's direct access to Caesarius is therefore doubtful, but not entirely outside the realm of possibility.

78 Michael Lapidge includes Caesarius in his list of sources used by Bede in *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 204 (no. 83), possibly due to a failure to distinguish the 'sources' from the 'lieux parallèles' in Gryson's index.

79 British Library Egerton 874, from St Augustine's Canterbury; note also the tenth-century Glastonbury copy, now Bodleian Library, Hatton 30: Gryson, 'Commentaires [part 1]', pp. 320–321; Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 294; Morin, 'Le commentaire homélétique', p. 209.

80 J.B. Trahern, 'Caesarius of Arles and Old English Literature: Some Contributions and Recapitulation', *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1975): 105–119; Tom Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer and Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1976), pp. 30–31. Caesarius's sermon 57 is quoted in some versions of the Old English *Apocalypse of Thomas*: Faerber, 'L'Apocalypse de Thomas', p. 135.

81 Lo Bue (p. 21) claims, albeit without producing much evidence, that the Turin revision of Tyconius was produced in Lérins, where Caesarius was once a monk. He also argues that Bede used Caesarius directly. His prime example, the commentary on the first part of Rev. 8:9, is not however, borne out by Gryson's research, which identifies Primasius as a major source. See this translation, n. 385. While Gryson agrees that Lérins was the principal gateway for Tyconius's text into Europe, he rejects the idea that the Turin Fragments were written there: see above, p. 15. The affinity between Bede's commentary and Caesarius did not go unremarked in the Middle Ages. A twelfth-century manuscript from Bury, now Cambridge, King's College 7, ascribes Caesarius's commentary to Bede, and Bede's own commentary is accompanied by Caesarius's (albeit wrongly ascribed to Gennadius) in Cambridge, St John's College H. 6 (England, *c*. 1170–1180).

2.6 Bede's Borrowings from Augustine

Alan Thacker's 2005 Jarrow Lecture tallies Bede's considerable debt to Augustine, and his profound familiarity with his writings, particularly *The City of God.* Better than almost any other early medieval writer, Bede comprehended Augustine's central idea of the dual status of the city of God, on pilgrimage through time yet already reigning in eternity.[82] Augustine's influence is certainly visible in the background ideas and the exegetical details of the *Commentary on Revelation.* Book 20 of *The City of God* was an influential source of ideas about the end-times in general, and Revelation in particular. Many of Bede's quotations from this book are also found in Primasius, but a significant number are not,[83] or else there is evidence that Bede read *The City of God* and Primasius in tandem. In the midst of his commentary on ch. 20, where he is mining large segments of Augustine from Primasius, Bede suddenly turns on his own initiative to the original text to expound Rev. 20:6.[84] In the exposition of Rev. 20:10, the alternative explanation of 'fire from heaven', with its reference to 2 Thess. 2, is drawn from a passage in *The City of God* 20:12 which was dropped by Primasius. When Bede borrows Augustine from Primasius, he often neglects to cite Augustine by name, but naming of Augustine does not necessarily mean that Bede used him directly: the long quotation from *De sancta virginitate* (*On Holy Virginity*) in the exegesis of Rev. 14:4 was at least cued by Primasius. Bede cites Augustine as his source for the commentary on Rev. 20:3, in a passage evidently copied from Primasius. However, Primasius does *not* identify Augustine as his source in this instance. Bede therefore knew *The City of God* well enough to know that he was reading Augustine when he read Primasius, and to supply the author's name.

The likelihood that Bede knew Augustine's masterpiece in its original form, and knew it deeply, increases when we consider the echoes of and allusions to this work. Bede's exegesis on Rev. 9:15, where the release of Satan and his minions from captivity, and their final assault on the saints, is prefigured, is a good example:

> *Bede:* What do you imagine they will do when they are loosed, who do so much harm now, when they are bound?[85]

82 Alan Thacker, *Bede and Augustine of Hippo*.

83 Bede's exegesis of Rev. 13:14 and 14:11 paraphrases *The City of God*, and is not paralleled in other sources. The passage borrowed for the exegesis of Rev. 13:14 might have been found in Eugippius's anthology of extracts from Augustine, but not the second.

84 See below, p. 255, n. 1000.

85 Ed. 355.25-26; translation p. 173.

> *Augustine*: And what are we in comparison with those saints and believers of the future, who are to be tempted by the loosing against them of such a foe: a foe whom we resist at such dire peril even when he is bound?[86]

Bede also declares his allegiance to Augustine by quoting from or paraphrasing *Contra adversarium legis* (*Against the opponent of the Law*), *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (*Commentary on the Psalms*), *Letter* 55, and of course, *On Christian Learning* in the prologue. Bede's confidence in Augustine's authority led him to side with the bishop even against the consensus of tradition. In assigning the four living creatures of Rev. 4:7, Bede departed from the customary interpretation by identifying the lion with Matthew and the man with Mark. His source was Augustine, but that did not spare Bede from criticism. He was obliged to defend his choice in the prologue to his commentary on Luke.[87]

2.7 Bede Reads Jerome and Gregory

Bede drew a number of etymologies from Jerome's *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* (*Liber interpretationum hebraicorum nominum*), and made some use of Jerome's commentary on Daniel, a work not exploited by Primasius.[88] Bede retained an interest in this commentary late into his career, using it for its discussion of chronological problems in the critical period following the fall of the Jewish kingdom and the end of the Biblical regnal lists in ch. 9 of *The Reckoning of Time*, and in his commentary on Ezra. Bede also used Jerome's commentary on Isaiah, notably to expound the twelve stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Darby remarks that Jerome's influence on Bede's eschatological thinking (the biography of Antichrist, the trial of patience and the post-resurrection fate of the damned) is disproportionate to his influence in other areas of Bede's interest, though it never matched that of Gregory and Augustine.[89] Gregory the Great, an author especially dear to Bede, is saluted as the apostle to the English in the preface of the *Commentary*, and contributes to its substance through his *Moralia*, his commentary on Ezekiel, and even his homilies, a resource which Bede was also exploiting for his parallel

86 *DCD* 20.8 (713.54-57) trans. Dyson, p. 984.

87 See above p. 26, and translation below, n. 181; cf. *In Lucam* , prol. pp. 7–10; Holder, 'Bede and the New Testament', p. 147.

88 Mackay, 'Augustine and Gregory', p. 397. Mackay's claim that Bede read the *Lib. int.* through Primasius is not entirely correct: the etymology of Jezebel in the exegesis of Rev. 2:20 is not mediated.

89 Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, p. 219.

project of commenting on Luke.[90] In contrast to Jerome, Gregory, despite his oft-expressed sense that the end was close, usually furnishes Bede with moral or allegorical corollaries rather than eschatological material *per se*.

2.8 Was Bede's Exegesis of Revelation Influenced by Visual Sources?

Bede's immediate milieu also contributed to his project; for example, Irish exegetes showed a strong interest in Revelation. It is probable that Bede made use of the Irish pseudo-Jerome, though with a few exceptions the parallels are minor. He certainly drew on an anonymous Irish commentary on the Catholic Epistles[91] – an interesting coincidence, given that Bede was also working on his own commentary early in his career. Insular lapidary materials such as the Irish *De XII lapidibus* (*On the Twelve Stones*) and Anglo-Saxon lapidary glosses supplemented Isidore of Seville, Jerome, Solinus, and Cassiodorus's commentary on the Psalms in the embedded 'sermon' on the twelve gems. But Bede's exegetical imagination may also have been nurtured by other resources close to home, namely the paintings in Wearmouth and Jarrow.

In the *History of the Abbots* 6, Bede tells how Benedict Biscop brought back from Rome and installed on the north wall of the church of Wearmouth a suite of paintings representing the Revelation of John.[92] Unfortunately, Bede does not reveal the content of these pictures, nor does he allude directly to them in the *Commentary*, so it is very difficult to say whether they exerted any influence either on his decision to comment on this book, or on the *Commentary* itself. We are not even sure whether the 'scenes from St John's vision' constituted a coherent cycle, or isolated episodes, though Bede implies the former by comparing them to illustrations of the Gospels on the facing south wall:

> Thus all who entered the church, even those who could not read, were able, whichever way they looked…to put themselves more firmly in mind of the

90 Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 164; DeGregorio, 'The Venerable Bede and Gregory the Great', p. 50.

91 See exegesis on Rev. 1:6.

92 The format and medium of these images is not known. They are commonly assumed to be panel paintings, but Ernst Kitzinger argues that what Benedict may have brought back was a pattern-book, from which artists created a series of wall-paintings in tempera: 'Interlace and Icons: Form and Function in Early Insular Art', *The Art of Migrating Ideas. Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland*, ed. R. Michael Spearman and John Higgitt (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland and Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1993), pp. 7–8. This position is rebutted by Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth-Jarrow', *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 63–77.

> Lord's Incarnation and, as they saw the decisive moment of the Last Judgement before their very eyes be brought to examine their conscience with all due severity. [93]

Late antique Christian art generally favoured isolated themes or episodes from Revelation, and notably scenes of triumph and adoration. Illustrative cycles as such cannot be documented before the Carolingian era.[94] Moreover, these early cycles seem quite disconnected from the commentaries. The textual exegesis of Revelation in the patristic and early medieval periods is focused on the Church, while visual exegesis is Christological in emphasis. Scenes such as the adoration of the Lamb (5:9-14), which Bede understood to refer to the state of the Church awaiting the Second Coming and Last Judgement, were transformed in works of visual art into images of the Church Triumphant. Bede's emphasis on the Last Judgement as the theme of the Wearmouth Revelation images, in Yves Christe's view, indicates that they followed the Late Antique Roman iconographic tradition.

Christe's arguments would suggest that their content would have been incommensurate with Bede's exegetical approach, which understood most of the book of Revelation, at least until the end of the sixth *periocha*, as concerned with the struggles of the Church within history.[95] Nonetheless, it would be rash to conclude that the Wearmouth pictures, collectively or individually, did not exert an influence on Bede. He certainly used pictures

93 Trans. D.H. Farmer in J.F. Webb, *The Age of Bede* (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 191. For general remarks on this cycle, see Bonner, *Saint Bede*, pp. 11–12, Meyvaert, 'Bede and the Church Paintings', p. 74, and the illuminating analysis by C. Chazelle, 'Art and Reverence in Bede's Churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow', in *Intellektualisierung und Mystifizierung mittelalterlicher Kunst: 'Kultbild': Revision eines Begriffs*, ed. M. Büchsel and R. Muller (Berlin: Mann, 2010), pp. 79–98.

94 Dale Kinney, 'The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration', *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 200–216. Bede's account is the earliest extant reference to a cycle (if it is a cycle) of illustrations of Revelation, in any medium. The earliest surviving cycles are in Carolingian manuscripts: James Snyder, 'The Reconstruction of an Early Christian Cycle of Illustrations for the Book of Revelation – the Trier Apocalypse', *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964): 147. Evidence for Italian Apocalypse cycles antedating Benedict Biscop includes the decoration of the (destroyed) church of St John in Ravenna, commissioned by Galla Placidia: George Henderson, *Vision and Image in Early Christian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 4–5. There is also a stylistic similarity between the Trier Apocalypse and sixth-century Italian St Augustine's Gospels; see F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 15.

95 Christe, 'Ap. IV–VIII,1', pp. 150–151 esp. n. 6. Christe mistakenly situates the pictures in York, rather than Wearmouth. On the role of the Last Judgement in the *Commentary on Revelation*, see below, pp. 82–85.

as a source of information in other circumstances. For example, he referred to the schemata found in the Codex Amiatinus in *On the Tabernacle* and *On the Temple*, citing Cassiodorus himself as an authority for this practice.[96] In the second of his *Eight Questions* (PL93.456 *sqq.*), Bede states that it was seeing an illustrated life of St Paul brought to England from Rome by bishop Cuthwine of Dunwich that helped him to grasp Paul's reference in 2 Corinthians 11.24 to 'forty stripes less one'. In the picture of this scene in the manuscript, the torturer had a four-cord lash, but he held one cord in his hand so that the total number of stripes administered would be a multiple of three, i.e. 39.[97] In another passage from *Eight Questions* 6 (PL 93.459) he refers to conventions of painting men of different races; it has been argued that this passage was inspired by a Last Judgement scene depicting representative peoples of the earth before the throne of the Judge.[98] At least one passage in the *Commentary* hints that Bede might have been inspired by the Wearmouth paintings. His exegesis of Rev. 6:7 ('And behold, a pale horse… And hell followed him') states that 'the Devil and his ministers are called Death and Hell by metonymy'. There is no traceable textual source for the identification of the Devil with the rider and his suite. But in the Carolingian Trier Apocalypse, Hell following the fourth Horseman is represented as a winged demon. This is also found in the eleventh-century Roda Bible, which is possibly copied from an early Christian exemplar.[99] On the other hand, it is not impossible that the influence went in the other direction – that is, that Bede's commentary shaped later iconographic tradition. As this Introduction was being completed, news broke of the discovery in a pastedown in the Stadtbibiothek in Mainz of a single leaf fragment of an illustrated copy of Bede's *Commentary on Revelation* (Hs frag. 18, s. IX–X). Dr Peter Klein

96 George Henderson, *Bede and the Visual Arts*, Jarrow Lecture 1980, p. 5, citing *De temp.* 2 (192.28–193.3, 48-52) and *De tab.* 2 (81.1555–82.1570). Cf. Arthur G. Holder, 'Allegory and History in Bede's Interpretation of Sacred Architecture', *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989): 115–131.

97 Henderson, *Bede and the Visual Arts*, p. 7: this manuscript was apparently loaned to Bede, possibly because 'his interest in authentic visual records was known to his wide acquaintance'. Cf. Dorothy Whitelock, 'Bede and his Teachers and Friends', *Famulus Christi*, p. 23.

98 Henderson, *Bede and the Visual Arts*, pp. 9–13: my attention was drawn to this passage by Peter Darby, who also points to the connection between this scene and Bede's oft-repeated claim that the process of the Last Judgement will be fair: see *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 126–128.

99 Snyder, 'Reconstruction of an Early Christian Cycle', pp. 160–161; for description and bibliography on the Trier and Valenciennes manuscripts, see Richard Emmerson and Suzanne Lewis, 'Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts containing Apocalypse Illustrations, ca. 800–1500 [part 1]', *Traditio* 40 (1984): 345–347.

of the University of Tübingen has published an article on this fragment for *Bulletin monumental*.[100]

There is also some evidence that Bede had access to illustrations of the Heavenly Jerusalem such as the schematic plan illustrating Revelation in the Book of Armagh, written in 807 (Dublin, Trinity College 52, fol. 171r), or the opening illustration of the Carolingian Valenciennes Apocalypse (Valenciennes Bibl. mun. 99, fol. 2, Liège? s. IX in.). Both of these images fuse the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem with that of the Old Testament Tabernacle, with the twelve gates inscribed with the names of the tribes recalling the encampment of the tribes around the Tabernacle in the desert. In the case of the Armagh diagram, the Patriarchs, Apostles, and gems of the City's foundations are merged.[101] Given his later interest in the symbolism of Biblical architecture, it is surprising that Bede does not pick up any of the exegetical cues linking the City and the Tabernacle. However, at 21:12, he connects the names of the tribes on the gates with the names of the Patriarchs inscribed on the stones of the High Priest's rational, and the High Priest's role in the worship of the Tabernacle and Temple. Since this is original with Bede, it may have been suggested by an iconographic source.

Finally, and most significantly, Bede's description of the Wearmouth paintings in the *History of the Abbots* stresses the typological correspondence between the Gospel pictures, which represent Christ's Incarnation or first Parousia, and the Revelation pictures. The Tyconian tradition within which Bede worked understood Revelation to be about the Church's experience from the Incarnation to the end of the world, and it is precisely these two poles which the pictures depicted. Linking two images – of a Gospel scene and a Revelation scene – through typological arrangement of the panels shows that the prophecy of revelation is not just about the future: it is about the past and present as well.[102]

100 See the report of the Stadtbibliothek's news conference announcing the discovery in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* for 23 September 2011: http://www.allgemeine-zeitung.de/region/kultur/literatur/11188948.

101 Peter K. Klein, 'Un fragment illustré d'époque carolingienne du commentaire de Bède sur l'Apocalypse', *Bulletin monumental* 170, 1 (2012): 43–45. See also Thomas O'Laughlin, 'The Plan of the New Jerusalem in the Book of Armagh', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 39 (2000): 23–38. Peter K. Klein argues that the Valenciennes cycle originated in a Northumbrian model of *c*. 700 copied from the Wearmouth paintings: 'The Apocalypse in Medieval Art', *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 177–178; J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1978), pp. 82–83.

102 Cf. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 219–21, who suggests that they visually book-ended the sixth age of the world.

2.9 Bede and the Text of the Bible

Most of the concerted interest in Bede's *Commentary on Revelation* has come from scholars whose principal focus has been the text of Revelation itself, whether in the Vulgate version (Hadley Sparks), or the Vetus Latina (Roger Gryson). Bede's Vulgate text is itself distinctive, as it contains Vetus Latina contaminants, as well as independent variants. Bede was also alert to the fact that one of his major sources, Tyconius, used the Vetus Latina, and not the Vulgate; where Bede shares an alternative reading of the Bible with one signalled by Primasius, he is usually reproducing Tyconius's North African Vetus Latina Biblical text.[103] Primasius and Augustine also point out alternative readings in the text of Revelation, and the problems and possibilities these provided. In his exegesis of Rev. 4:8 for instance, Primasius offers an alternative reading from an *alia translatio* which is, in fact, the received version of the Vulgate. Bede transposes Primasius's main interpretation, based on his variant Vulgate, to a secondary position, so that Primasius's variant text now becomes the *alia translatio*. Finally, Bede's lemmata occasionally pick up readings from his sources. Though these rarely affect the substance of the text, all significant variants from the received text of the Vulgate are recorded in the notes to this translation. These notes are based on the thorough analysis furnished in part 5 of Gryson's introduction to his edition of the *Commentary on Revelation*.

The Bible itself was a source of exegetical material for Bede. Like the Fathers, he assumed that the Scriptures shared a common message and inspiration, and thus could best be expounded by concordance. The exegesis of Rev. 5:2 – 'Who is worthy to open the book and break its seals?' – furnishes a good example. Using the key word 'book', Bede scans his mental index of Biblical references to celestial books:

> In Isaiah, this is the book which cannot be opened for the literate or the illiterate, though even there, its opening is proclaimed in this way: *And in that day the deaf shall hear the words of the book*.[104] Ezekiel also speaks of it: *And I looked, and behold, a hand was sent to me; wherein was a book rolled up; and he spread it before me: and it was written within and without*.[105] Thereupon he adds what John

103 H.J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-Übersetzung* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1920), p. 68; Johannes Haussleiter, *Die lateinische Apokalypse der alten afrikanischen Kirche*. Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons 4, 1–8 (Erlangen, Leipzig: Andr. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1891), pp. xiii, 77; Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, pp. 9–11, 83, 130.

104 Isa. 29:11-12, 18.

105 Ezek. 2:9.

> passes over in silence, namely, what was written in the book, saying, *and there were written in it lamentations and canticles and woe*.[106] For the whole sequence of the Old and New Testament warns that penance should be done for sins, the kingdom of heaven should be sought, and the pains of hell escaped.

Exegesis by concordance bears some resemblance to the 'mosaic' method of composition discussed above. It is associated with the ruminative style of meditative reading and prayer practised in monastic communities; indeed, the liturgy that occupied the monastic day was built up of Biblical extracts chosen to resonate with one another. Textual support for the practice could also be found in the form of thematic Biblical *florilegia*, such as Isidore of Seville's *Sententiae.*[107]

3. DATE AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMPOSITION

3.1 The Significance of the Date of Composition

In *Bede and the End of Time* Peter Darby presents a richly documented and carefully reasoned argument that Bede's ideas about the end-times evolved from the relatively subdued Tyconian–Augustinian apocalypticism of the *Commentary on Revelation* to a more articulate and explicit interest in the eschaton, culminating in the coherent narrative of the events of the future laid out in chapters 67–71 of *The Reckoning of Time* (completed in 725). *The Reckoning of Time* begins with the smallest units of time-reckoning and works up through the week, the month and the year to the larger multi-year cycles governing the calculation of Easter. Finally, Bede turns to the world-ages, which he lays out in a sweeping universal chronicle (ch. 66). This chronicle adopts the patristic division of history into six epochs, the last of which begins with the Incarnation. Unlike Bede's earlier work *On Times*, however, *The Reckoning of Time* follows the chronicle with a discussion of the future. Here Bede not only dilates on the end of the Sixth Age, but expands the conventional schema by adding a Seventh Age. This Seventh Age is the state of the Church Expectant, that is, the souls of the righteous in heaven who await the final resurrection and judgement. Bede is leaning heavily on Augustine here, who replaced the earthly thousand-year reign of

106 *Ibid.*

107 Jean Leclercq, 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture: From Gregory the Great to Bernard', *Cambridge History of the Bible*, pp. 187–189; *idem*, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), pp. 76–77.

the saints with Christ of Rev. 20:6 with this parallel time. In an even more daring move, Bede projected an Eighth Age to follow the renewal of heaven and earth at the end of history. This Eighth Age is one of 'eternal stability and stable eternity', a perennial Easter and a beginning which shall never know an end. And yet this ageless Age is a kind of time; Bede even argued in chapter 70 that the fire destined to consume the 'first heaven and the first earth' will not touch the heavenly bodies which God created as signs of times and seasons at the beginning of the world. He repeated this argument in his commentary in 2 Pet. 3:5-6 and 10,[108] and it is present, albeit only in germ, in his exegesis of Rev. 21:1 and 23. But as Darby observes, there is no Seventh or Eighth Age in the *Commentary on Revelation.* Moreover, in this work, Bede was careful to sidestep passages which suggest that the end is imminent, nor did he hint that he could see any current events or conditions that would suggest that this was so. The Sixth Age was historically 'homogeneous'. By contrast, Bede's middle and especially later works become (at least on occasion) rather less reticent about the possibility that Judgement was fast approaching.

The event of 708 that triggered this process was the controversy that erupted over the revised chronology of the Six Ages of the world Bede had put forward in *On Times* (completed in 703). Those who objected to this chronology accused Bede of heresy, and in his *Letter to Plegwin* Bede fought back. It was his accusers, he said, who were guilty of heresy – the heresy of presuming to know how to calculate the date of the end of the world. It would seem pertinent, then, to ask whether the *Commentary on Revelation* was written before this scandal, or after. Was Bede's un-apocalyptic apocalypse a sign of his dependence on the Fathers, and hence the relative immaturity of his thinking? Or was it a deliberate choice, to address specific circumstances?

3.2 The Commentary on Revelation and the Preface to the Commentary on Acts

The only chronological fact at our disposal is that the *Commentary on Revelation* was written before the *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* was completed, because it is mentioned in the dedicatory epistle of that work.[109] This is addressed to bishop Acca of Hexham, who was consecrated

108 *DTR* 70, ed. Jones, 540.5-35, trans. Wallis, pp. 243–244; *Cath. Ep.* 277.35-48 and 279.110-125, trans. Hurst, pp. 147–148, 150–151.

109 When the Acts commentary was begun is not known; Bede may have been working on

in 709 or 710 as Wilfred's successor. Both the *Commentary on Acts* and the *Commentary on Revelation* were composed before 716, because both mention Hwætberht (known as Eusebius) as 'brother'. Hwætberht became abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow after the departure of Ceolfrith in 716, and Bede thereafter refers to him as 'father'. Hwætberht was also the dedicatee of the *Commentary on Revelation*, and he seems to have played a crucial role in its reception.

Here is what Bede says:

> I have received your Beatitude's very numerous letters in which you took care to remind me that I should not allow the keenness of my mind to dawdle and doze in slothful leisure, but that watchful and unwearied I should eagerly pursue daily meditation on and investigation of the scriptures. And [your letters remind me that] as I had brought together a commentary on the Apocalypse [*post expositionem…complexam*] of the holy evangelist John (the three books of which, upon the request of our brother Eusebius, I arranged to have transcribed directly for you), I should consider how far my labour would suffice for an explanation of the blessed evangelist Luke, following in the footsteps of the fathers. I have not yet been able to accomplish this, both because I have been overawed by the task, and because I have been hindered by the demands of annoying matters [*obstrepentium causarum*] of which you are very much aware. In the meantime, however, lest the authority of your request be disparaged, I have done what I could. I have sent [you] a little work on the Acts of the Apostles, which was produced not many days ago, and, so as not to impede your most holy will, I put it out as quickly as time permitted in the form of little parchments. Here I have attempted, insofar as I could, to shed light on those things which seemed to be treated mystically or stated somewhat obscurely…. I have also sent a very short explanation of the epistle of the most blessed evangelist John. As an abbreviating summarizer I selected the major part of this from St Augustine's homilies, which are permeated with an abundant sweetness. By my own labour I have added some things at the end. [110]

---

it for some time: see Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, p. 80, n. 68. The connection between these two works was noted by medieval readers. A number of MSS of the *Commentary on Revelation* contain a spurious second preface in the form of an address to Acca confected from the prefatory letter to the Acts commentary, e.g. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale 5543-45 (s. XI), Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale 164 (s. XII); Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek B 20 (s. XV ex.); Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek B 22 (s. XV); Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université 73 (s. XII); Utrecht, Biblioteek der Rijksuniversiteit 77 (s. XV). These are respectively MSS 18, 22, 25, 26, 50 and 95 in the inventory in Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, ch. 1.

110 Ed. M.L.W. Laistner, Mediaeval Academy of America Publications 35 (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939), pp. 3.3-17, 5.12-17. The English translation is by

It is certain, then, that the *Commentary on Revelation* was already finished when Bede sent Acca the Acts commentary, together with the exposition of 1 John; presumably this exposition was the same one (or an earlier draft of the same one) later incorporated into Bede's *On the Catholic Epistles* (*In epistolas septem catholicas*). But how much time had elapsed between the composition of the *Commentary on Revelation* and the one on Acts? The reference to the copy of the *Commentary on Revelation* made for Acca, at the initiative of Hwætberht, is expressed in the perfect tense and qualified by the adverb *mox*, which usually means 'soon afterwards' or 'directly afterwards'. This might suggest that the Revelation commentary was copied shortly after it was finished, but *mox* carries a fairly indistinct temporal meaning. Whether Acca was already a bishop when this copy was undertaken is not clear, but if he were – and this is a big 'if' – then the *Commentary on Revelation* would have been written shortly before 710.[111] But if Acca was not yet a bishop when this copy was delivered, a wider time-frame opens up. Indeed, this second scenario makes better sense of other evidence in the dedicatory letter.

Bede claims that Acca approved his *Commentary on Revelation*, and encouraged him to proceed with an *explanatio* of Luke. Instead, Bede composed a commentary on Acts, apparently in haste. His excuse for not fulfilling Acca's command was that he was dismayed (*perterritus*) by the immensity of the task of commenting on the gospel, but also obstructed or tied up (*praepeditus*) by what he called *obstrepentes causae*. He does not explain why he chose instead to rush through a commentary on Acts, nor why he added a commentary on 1 John.

In itself, Bede's decision to follow up his *Commentary on Revelation* by issuing one on Acts would not have seemed unusual. The overwhelming majority of early medieval Bibles were copied as autonomous segments (Gospels, Heptateuchs, etc.) or as multi-volume sets. Revelation, when not copied on its own, was customarily bundled with the Acts of the Apostles and sometimes the Catholic Epistles as well. Such an arrangement can be seen in the 'Ezra' miniature in the Codex Amiatinus (fol. 5r), created in Bede's own monastery in the years leading up to 716. The priest-scribe is depicted sitting before a book-cupboard containing the Bible in nine labelled volumes. The last volume in Ezra's *armarium* contains the Acts and Revelation together. Yoking Revelation and Acts in effect casts Revelation

---

Lawrence T. Martin, *The Venerable Bede. Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1989), pp. 3–6, slightly modified.

111 710 is advanced as the *terminus a quo* by Gryson, 'Commentaires [part 2]', p. 484, and Benedicta Ward, *The Venerable Bede* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1990), pp. 51, 58.

as a projection of the history of the Church which begins with Acts, or as the typological counterpart of Acts. And indeed, Bede's *Commentary on Revelation* frequently circulated in the company of his commentaries on Acts and the Catholic Epistles.[112]

As for the commentary on 1 John, we are confined to inference, but two facts command our attention. First, as the preface to the commentary on Acts makes plain, the John who wrote the Epistle was, in Bede's eyes, the John who composed Revelation. Secondly, the first Epistle of John contains the passage 'Little children, it is the final hour' (2:18), a text that some cited as proof that Christ's parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. 20:1-7) contained the code for the date of the end of the world. Bede, as we shall see, assails this 'proof' in his *Letter to Plegwin.*

3.3 *Obstrepentes causae?*

While it might be possible to support an argument for dating the *Commentary on Revelation* to around 710, many scholars prefer an earlier date, around 703,[113] and a date of 703 would gain in plausibility if events that took place in or before 703 could furnish a persuasive context. One event that can be securely dated to 703 is the completion of Bede's *On Times*; it is also likely that its companion-piece, *On the Nature of Things* (*De natura rerum*), was finished simultaneously.[114] Bede explicitly refuses to discuss the end of time in *On Times*, save to close his chronicle with a terse reminder, echoing Isidore of Seville, than no one can know when the Sixth Age of the world will end. Moreover, *On the Nature of Things* was based on Isidore of Seville's *On the Nature of Things*, a book composed in part as a response to apocalyptic speculation following an unusual convergence of eclipses in 612–613. Jacques Fontaine has argued that Isidore intended to rationalize the very phenomena that were regarded as signs of the impending end of the world (eclipses, comets, atmospheric disturbances, pestilences, etc.).[115] Bede if anything goes further along this path, by eliminating Isidore's religious allegories.[116] For Bede to compose a commentary on Revelation,

112 See below, p. 87, and Perette Michelli, 'What's in the Cupboard? Ezra and Matthew Reconsidered', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, pp. 345–358.

113 E.g. Brown, *A Companion to Bede*, p. 69 (703 as *terminus a quo*).

114 See Kendall and Wallis's translation, Introduction, pp. 1–3.

115 Jacques Fontaine (ed.), *Isidore de Seville: Traité de la nature* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1960), introduction, pp. 3–6.

116 See Kendall and Wallis's translation, Introduction, p. 19.

particularly a commentary which played down apocalyptic realism, thus seems compatible with the other projects he had in hand around 703. Bede was aware of the two types of apocalypse discussed earlier: one reveals the secrets of the cosmos through a vision or heavenly journey (the vertical or spatial mode), while the second reveals the secrets of history, the end of time, and what will follow thereafter (the horizontal or temporal mode). *On the Nature of Things* and *On Times* are likewise surveys of the cosmos and time respectively.[117] The critical link between the two complementary genres is the comparison of the cosmos to the Church, which is the central subject, in Bede's view, of Revelation.[118] In 703, there were no eclipses or other potential portents, but there was, it would seem, a mood of apocalyptic anxiety in Bede's milieu. We hear about it obliquely in the *Letter to Plegwin*, and also in the *Commentary on Revelation.*

It was, in Bede's words, *obstrepentes causae* that caused him to set aside his commentary on Luke. *Obstrepentes* is a strong term, denoting hostile clamour, furious and aggressive shouting. Only one known crisis

117 Two forms of apocalyptic: McGinn, 'Introduction', p. 7; Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', pp. 244–246. The alphabetic poem *Altus Prosator* ascribed to St Columba is a history of the world from Creation to Last Judgement (the latter occupying a disproportionate space), with an embedded explanation of tides, the waters above the earth, and the nature of hell. These subjects also appear in ancient cosmological apocalypses like 1 Enoch: McGinn, 'The End of the World', pp. 67–68 and n. 37. Bianca Kühnel points to the complementary relationship of science and the exegesis of Revelation in the Carolingian period: 'The expansion of learning, the multiplication of Carolingian schools and scriptoria, as well as Charlemagne's own endeavours to penetrate the secrets of natural phenomena, all suggest that science was accorded the task of distinguishing between natural and supernatural signs. It can hardly be a coincidence that both the Apocalypse and Isidore's *De natura rerum* aroused such wide interest among illuminators in Carolingian scriptoria; the Carolingian period produced the earliest extant illuminated manuscripts of these texts. If this does not necessarily mean that such illumination began only in the Carolingian period, it is certainly an indication of the massive and significant Carolingian interest in this literature': *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003), p. 253. In the light of this complementarity, it would be gratifying to be able to assert that the composition of the *Commentary on Revelation* coincided with that of the first part of *On Genesis*, which discusses creation, and this indeed was asserted by M.L.W. Laistner and C.W. Jones. However, Calvin Kendall argues cogently that the first part of *On Genesis* was probably composed in 717–718: see his introduction to *On Genesis*, pp. 45–53. It is interesting to note, however, that Victorinus of Pettau composed a hexaemeron, *De mundi fabrica* (ed. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio*).

118 Yves Congar, *L'Ecclésiologie du haut moyen âge: de Saint Grégoire le Grand à la désunion entre Byzance et Rome* (Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 1968), pp. 101–102, citing Gregory, *Mor.* 28.4.14 'ad instar quippe ecclesiae fabricatus est hic mundus', quoted by Isidore in *De natura rerum* 17.5. Bede does not press this comparison in any of his works, but possibly did not need to.

in Bede's life qualifies as an *obstrepens causa*: the accusation of heresy directed against him by someone at the court of Acca's predecessor Wilfred in 708. Bede was slandered on account of the chronology of world-history he proposed in *On Times*, and there is an intimate connection between this chronology and the question of the end-times.

On Times culminated in a survey of the Six Ages of the world, and the historical events which defined them. While the model for Bede's Christian world-chronicle was Eusebius, his understanding of the Six Ages was heavily dependent on Augustine.[119] The schema of the Six Ages of the world as Bede understood it was based on two analogies. World-history is like the human life-span, proceeding through six *aetates* from infancy to old age. World-history is also like the week in which God created the world – six days of activity, followed by a seventh day of rest. By the time he composed *The Reckoning of Time*, Bede was ringing the changes on both analogies. In *On Times*, however, Bede avoids the week-day metaphor. Instead, he prefaces the world-chronicle with a summary of the life-span analogy. The life-span metaphor has the advantage of deflecting speculation about the timing of the eschaton. We know when the other ages of human life begin and end, but while we can fix the time when old age begins, the time when it will end in death is not fixed. The life-span analogy at the head of Bede's chronicle in *On Times* drives this message home: 'The sixth age, which is unfolding now, has no established sequence of generations or times, but like extreme dotage itself, will end in the death of the whole world-age [*saeculum*]'.[120] By contrast, the week-days analogy concealed a potentially dangerous explosive. The detonating device was 2 Pet. 3:8: 'one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day' (cf. Psalm 90(89):4). This suggested that the world-ages were not elastic *historical* divisions, but fixed *chronological* units of one thousand years in length. In consequence, the world was bound to end 6000 years after its Creation, and if one knew the number of years that had passed since Creation, one could calculate the date of that end. This posed a theological problem, for Christ declined to reveal this date, and even claimed not to know it himself.[121]

119 On Bede's use of the Six Ages concept, see C.W. Jones, 'Some Introductory Remarks on Bede's Commentary on Genesis', *Sacris erudiri* 19 (1969–70): 191–198; Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, chs. 1–3 and *passim*.

120 Trans. Kendall and Wallis, pp. 117–118. On the history of this analogy, see Paul Archambault, 'The Ages of Man and the Ages of the World', *Revue des études augustiniennes* 12 (1966): 193–228, esp. 206–207 *re:* Bede.

121 Only once in the *Commentary on Revelation* does Bede come close to invoking the

Any misguided attempt to calculate the date of the end of the world would also face technical challenges. Eusebius's world-chronicle did not number the years from Creation, but from the time of Abraham. In his preface, Eusebius divided history after Abraham into four periods, and added that prior to Abraham, there were two further periods, running from Adam to the Flood and from the Flood to Abraham. This brought the total to the symbolic figure of six. The chronology of the first two periods could only be determined by adding up the life-spans of the patriarchs in the genealogies recorded in Genesis. The numbers in the Hebrew and Septuagint texts of Genesis differed, and Eusebius opted for the Septuagint's calculation. This put Christ's birth at *annus mundi* 5197 or 5198, which (albeit unintentionally) roughly coincided with the beginning of the sixth millennium after creation. When Jerome translated Eusebius into Latin, he modified this date slightly to 5199. Thus for those who believed in fixed thousand-year world-ages, and who consulted the chronology of Eusebius-Jerome, the world had just crossed the threshold of its final century at the time Bede was writing *On Times* – in the year 701, to be precise. Yet *On Times* proposed a revision to the Eusebius-Jerome chronology which uncoupled the Six Ages concept from any association with apocalyptic calculations. Using the genealogies recorded in the Hebrew text of Genesis, as represented by Jerome's Vulgate, Bede reduced the length of the first two ages of the world from the Septuagint's 3184 years to 1948 years. This put the birth of Christ at A.M. 3952.

In the court of Bishop Wilfred, this revised chronology caused a stir. Someone in the bishop's entourage accused Bede of heresy, apparently at a public gathering hosted by Wilfred himself, and Wilfred did not intervene. Bede's response in the *Letter to Plegwin* states that the charge was that 'I denied that our Lord and Saviour had come in the flesh in the Sixth Age'. But he knew exactly what his accusers were really driving at: they believed that each of the six world-ages was 1000 years long, and in their eyes Bede had perversely dated the Incarnation – the event which inaugurated the Sixth Age – to the end of the Fourth Age.

Bede devoted the first part of the *Letter* to reviewing patristic (particularly

---

analogy of the world-ages and the days of the week, and that is in the exposition of 11:15 (but cf. *Capitula lectionum* IV; see Appendix of this volume). It is, however, very muted, the only hint being the word 'sabbath'. On the history of the idea of the world-ages as fixed units of 1000 years and its connection to the week-day analogy, see Daniélou, 'La typologie millenariste de la semaine', R. Schmidt, '"Aetates mundi". Die Weltalter als Gliederungprinzip der Geschichte', *Zeitschift für Kirchengeschichte* 67 (1955–56): 288–317, and the comprehensive study by Luneau, *L'Histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Église*, esp. pp. 37–44 and chs. 1.1, 8 and 9.

Augustinian) arguments in favour of the *hebraica veritas* of the Vulgate that underpinned his revised chronology. This defence finds a direct echo in the preface to the commentary on Acts, where Bede expresses surprise that an inspired writer like Luke should prefer the genealogy of the patriarchs found in the Septuagint translation of Genesis.[122] This seems like an odd digression, for Old Testament chronology is irrelevant to Acts. But it is certainly pertinent if Bede was addressing readers of *On Times* who claimed that the New Testament did not privilege the Hebrew Truth.

Bede spent the remainder of the *Letter to Plegwin* accusing his accusers of heresy:

> 14. On the subject of times and years, I warn your simplicity, dearest brother, lest seduced by vulgar opinion you should expect that this present world will endure 6,000 years, as it were. According to a book of I know not what heretic which I remember seeing as a lad, written in old-fashioned script, though the day and hour of Judgement cannot be known, the year can. In fact you think that man can foresee this, because the Lord said, *But of that day and hour knoweth no man* [Matt. 24:37; Mark 13:32], and yet said nothing about the year. And again when he said, *It is not for you to know the times or the seasons* [Acts 1:7], he did not add *the years* thereto. And again this heresiarch chronographer exerted himself to add that 5,500 years had passed before the Incarnation, and from thence to the Day of Judgement only 500 remained, of which 300 and some had passed at the time when he uttered his ravings. Accumulating the sum of this number partly from Genesis, partly from the Book of Judges, but attributing forty years each to Samuel and Saul, he used the argument that in the Lord's vineyard, the workers hired last will work one hour, and that John had said, *Little children, it is the final hour* [1 John 2:18], as if 500 years out of 6,000 ought to be as one hour out of a day, when evening falls after twelve hours of daylight. So when 12 times 500 years had passed, that is 6,000 years, the eternal retribution of the just Judge would come to pass.
>
> 15. On this matter I confess I am quite grieved, and often irritated to the limit of what is permissible, or even beyond, when every day I am asked by rustics how many years are left in the final millennium of the world, or learn from them that they know that the final millennium is in progress, when our Lord in the Gospel did not testify that the time of His advent was near at hand or far off, but commanded us to keep watch *with our loins girded and our lamps lit*, and to *wait for Him* until *He should come* [cf. Luke 12:35-37]. For I notice that when in conversation with the brothers the occasion arises for us to dispute concerning the Ages of the world, certain of the less learned ones allege that we are speaking of 6,000 years, and there are those who think that this world will

122 Ed. Laistner, 4.1-12; trans. Martin, p. 4.

> end at 7,000 years because it unfolded in seven days. The said doctor Augustine in his explanation of Psalm 6 often openly accused these people of temerity, saying amongst other things: *For if this day is to come after 7,000 years, everybody can add these to the computed years of his Advent. How will it be that the Son does not know [the time]? … What does this strange presumption seek, which hopes [to find] the most certain day of the Lord by counting 7,000 years?* [Augustine, *En. in Ps.* 6.1]
>
> 16. I send these letters, signs of charitable friendship, dearest brother, as pledges of my innocence, lest you judge me deeply lacking in secular or sacred learning. Rather, [we shall] state openly that our Lord and Saviour took mortal flesh for our sake in the Sixth Age of the world, according to the Scriptures or acknowledging the faithful and catholic voice of the Fathers. But the course of the world is not defined for us in any fixed number of years, and is known only to the Judge himself. And if anyone were to say to me, 'Lo, Christ is here', or 'Lo, He is there' [cf. Luke 17:23], that is, [that Christ is] to come to Judgement at such and such a time, I would not listen to or follow him at all. For I know that *as the lightning, that lightneth under heaven shineth on those things which are under heaven; so shall the Son of Man be in his day* [Luke 17:24]. For you know by what opinion of the multitude it will come in six or seven thousand years, and by what authority I build the assertion of my computation: namely by the Hebrew Truth, recorded by Origen, published by Jerome, praised by Augustine, confirmed by Josephus….[123]

Bede makes his point by calling the anonymous chronographer who used fixed-period world-ages to decode the date a heretic, though he lets his opponents off a bit more lightly by branding their views as 'vulgar opinion'. He is being ironic here, for the notion of 1000-year world-ages was by no means a popular delusion. It was the clergy of Bishop Wilfred's *familia* – silently seconded by Wilfred himself – who accused Bede, and they did so on the basis of entrenched learned tradition. The scheme Bede refers to in section 14 of the *Letter to Plegwin* – found in the *Cologne Prologue* and ultimately based on the *Chronographia* of Julius Africanus – was legitimated by a chronological interpretation of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16). The parable assumes a twelve-hour working day, since those hired at the eleventh hour work only one hour. Dividing these twelve hours into 6000 years produced 'hours' of 500 years each. Since 1 John 2:18 states that it is now 'the last hour', the world ought to end – or to have ended – about AD 500. It is noteworthy that Bede also rejects this interpretation in his commentary on 1 John 2:18. The 'eleventh hour', he argues, covers the entire history of the sixth age, from the Incarnation to the

123 Trans. Wallis, pp. 412–414; ed. Jones, pp. 623–625.

end of the world. Hence even the time when the evangelist John was alive was truly 'the last hour'.[124]

One passage in the *Letter to Plegwin* merits closer attention, however, because it takes us beyond the walls of Wilfred's palace and into the heart of Bede's own monastery. Indeed, the 'rustics' who (Bede says) hounded him to specify the number of years left until the Last Judgement may have been his own monastic brethren. If Bede had to repeatedly field questions about the date of the end of the world, some people – and not a few it seems – were genuinely anxious that it was nearly upon them. No eclipse or comet seems to have provoked their panic. Rather, it was, I would propose, the fatal figure 6000, because as of 701 there was only a century left. One is reminded of Hilarianus's stark declaration in *On the Duration of the World* that only 101 years were left until the end. It is not impossible that this work was known in Bede's milieu – Hilarianus may even have been the *chronographus haereses* – but even if its prophecy had been proven wrong, it served to model the idea that the final century was an ominous date, the beginning of the countdown.

In 701, were Bede's brothers also pestering him to explain the Biblical prophecies of the end-times, to tell them whether this or that event was one of the figural signals of the final tribulation? If so, this might explain

124 Ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 121 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983): 295.213-238. '(1 John 2:18) **Little children, it is the last hour.** He calls the last age of the world which is now in progress the last hour, according to that parable of the Lord in which he tells of the workers having been hired at the first, third, sixth, ninth, and eleventh hours. For those who served the will of their Creator either by teaching or living properly from the beginning of the world cultivated the vineyard of the Lord from the first hour; those who lived from the time of Noah did so from the third hour; those who lived from the time of Abraham did so from the sixth hour; those who lived from the time of the giving of the law did so from the ninth hour; those who obey the heavenly commands from the time of the Lord's incarnation to the end of the world do so from the eleventh hour. In this [eleventh] hour, namely, it was foretold by the prediction of the prophets that there would be both the coming of the saviour in the flesh and that there would follow the plague of antichrist, which would assail the heralds of salvation. Hence there follows: **And you have heard that the antichrist is coming, now many antichrists have appeared.** He is calling the heretics antichrists. But those who by their wrongful actions destroy the faith of Christ which they profess are also justifiably called antichrists, that is, opposed to Christ. All these give witness to that greatest antichrist who will come at the end of the world as to their head. Hence Paul says of him that *the mystery of iniquity is already at work* [2 Thess. 2:7]. **From this we know that it is the last hour.** From what? From the fact that many antichrists have appeared. What he says about it being even then the last hour can also be understood thus, however, that the persecution which was being waged at that time by the heretics had great similarity to that final persecution which is to come just before the day of judgment, although the former smote the Church only with savage tongues, the latter will also smite it with injurious swords': trans. D. Hurst, pp. 175–176.

why Bede chose to comment on Revelation. He had other choices, such as the Little Apocalypse in the Synoptic Gospels, or 1 and 2 Thessalonians. The symbolic narrative of Revelation, however, offered greater scope for a typological or allegorical reading than did the declarative prophecies of the Little Apocalypse. For example, the celestial and meteorological omens mentioned in the Gospel – the darkened sun and moon, falling stars – appear as *figurae* in Revelation, and Bede consistently allegorizes them as allusions to the trials of the church or the doom of heretics. Revelation gave Bede the opportunity to uncouple the eschaton from anxious preoccupation with warning signs. His *Commentary* was thus a sort of exegetical companion-piece to *On the Nature of Things*, which rationalized comets and eclipses, storms and earthquakes, and even the infernal fires of Mount Etna.

There is an echo of this in Bede's unusual exegesis of Rev. 20:7. The period when Satan will range freely – three years and six months – is so short that it hardly is worth counting; rather, it should be included in the symbolic one thousand years which have just 'finished'. Such an assimilation is appropriate because – and this is Bede's original addition – 'seven hundred years and however many [years] God might wish are called "an hour" by the Apostle [John in 1 John 2:18]'. Bede has unhooked the apostle's 'hour' from its traditional association with a span of five hundred years, but the figure of seven hundred years 'and however many [years] God might wish' is striking, and would support the hypothesis that AD 701 was a date that roused concern. This would point to a date of composition closer to 701 than to 710.

If these were indeed the circumstances of the composition of the *Commentary on Revelation*, they help to explain other matters. A mood of apocalyptic dread in English clerical and monastic circles in the first decade of the eighth century, rooted in the 'heresy of calculation', makes what took place in Wilfred's hall more serious, and Bede's response more comprehensible. It was no frivolous accusation by irresponsible drunks, but truly an *obstrepens causa.* It might also explain why Hwætberht apparently on his own initiative arranged to send a copy of the *Commentary on Revelation* to Acca, perhaps on his accession as bishop, but possibly well before this, for Acca was a cleric in Wilfred's entourage. Acca may not have thought Bede a heretic, but he may not have grasped the point of the *Letter to Plegwin* either. Additional clarification was required; perhaps Acca even demanded it. In 710, Bede and his friends thought it good to do three things: remind Acca of what the truly orthodox reading of Revelation was; re-frame the commentary on Revelation by detaching it from its previous association with issues of chronology and portents, and associating it instead with the

history of the Church begun in Acts, thereby reinforcing its typological reading; and back up some crucial arguments in the *Letter to Plegwin* by commenting on the First Epistle of John, whose author was presumed to be the John of Revelation.

3.4 An Apocalyptic Eighth Century?

Bede's confrontation with the readers of *On Times* gives us a glimpse of the more or less articulate apocalypticism abroad in England, and indeed across western Europe, at the beginning of the eighth century. It can be read on the walls of a late seventh-century crypt from the region of Poitiers: 'Alpha and Omega. The beginning and the End. For all things become every day worse and worse, for the end is drawing near'. It can be traced in the new phenomenon of High Crosses in Ireland and Northumbria, echoes of the growing role of the embellished Cross (*crux gemmata*) as an iconographic emblem of the Second Coming.[125] Julian of Toledo, primate of Spain from 680 to 690, denounced the literal reading of Revelation in his *Prognosticum futuri saeculi* (*Prognostic of the Age to Come*), but his *De comprobatione aetatis sextae* (*Affirmation of the Sixth Age*) explicitly concluded that the world was destined to end in *annus mundi* 6011 (AD 810). The commentary composed by Julian's fellow-countryman Beatus of Liébana (c. 750–798) notoriously predicted the end of the world in a mere fourteen years.[126] Sometime around 700, a Latin translation of the Byzantine *Revelations of pseudo-Methodius* appeared in Gaul (the earliest manuscript is dated 727). This apocalyptic rallying cry against Islam contained a treasury of fresh legends about the last days, including the prophecy of the Last World Emperor and the identification of Gog and Magog as ferocious Asian peoples pent up by Alexander the Great. Though *Revelations* was destined for exceptional popularity, it was not the only new apocalyptic writing to appear at this time.[127] Closer

125 McGinn, 'The End of the World', pp. 58 (crypt), 73–75 (crosses). The translation of the inscription from the crypt of abbot Mellebaudis is by J.N. Hillgarth, *Christianity and Paganism 350–370: The Conversion of Western Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), p. 16.

126 Beatus 4.5.13 (p. 368) commenting on Rev. 7:4; Hillgarth, 'Eschatological and Political Concepts', p. 228; Juan Gil, 'Los terrores del año 800', *Actas del simposio para el estudio de los codices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liebana* (Madrid: Joyas, 1978), pp. 217–247.

127 Hillgarth, 'Eschatological and Political Concepts', pp. 227–228. The Latin pseudo-Methodius is edited by E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1898), pp. 59–96; selections are translated in McGinn, *Visions of the End*, ch. 7. The contemporary

to home were the contemporary productions of Irish eschatology, such as the *De monogramma* (*On the Monogram*), a dossier of interpretations of the number of the Beast, 666.[128] Bede probably did not know any of these particular texts, but the intensity of his opposition to calculation reveals that he was tuning in to a serious contemporary problem. Even as he resisted the temptation to guess when the end would be, was he himself persuaded that it was at the very least not far off? Did his views, whether positive or negative, have any consequences for the *Commentary on Revelation*?

This question is difficult to answer, for a number of reasons. There is ample evidence that Bede's sense of the proximity of the end-times varied over the course of his life. However, apart from the *Commentary on Revelation,* the closing chapters of *The Reckoning of Time* and his poem *On Judgement Day* – the first composed at the beginning of his career, the second probably at the very end[129] – Bede does not address the end of the world as a separate issue. Passing allusions and phrases appear in Biblical commentaries, sermons, and the *Letter to Ecgbert*, but it is not an easy matter to determine what pressure was exerted by the text of the Bible or Bede's immediate intention to exhort his listener or reader. By the time he wrote the *Commentary on Luke* (between 710 and 716) and the *Commentary on Samuel* in 716–717, he was openly referring to 'the approaching end of the world'. The phrase *adpropinquante…mundi termino* ('with the end of the world at hand') is Gregory's and is found (with slight variations) in a number of his works, including the letter to King Æthebert of Kent that Bede incorporated into *HE* 1.32:[130]

Visio Baronti (MGH Scriptores rerum merovingicarum 5, 377-94) is translated by J.N. Hillgarth in *Christianity and Paganism*, pp. 195–204.

128 Ed. Gryson, *Commentaria minora*, pp. 142–157.

129 On the authenticity of *De die iudicii* see Michael Lapidge, 'Bede and the "Versus de die iudicii"', in *Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt*, ed. A. Bihrer and E. Stein (Munich: Saur, 2004), pp. 103–11. Lapidge argues that this is an early work; Peter Darby will present the case for a later date in his forthcoming article 'Bede, Acca and the Latin Poem *De die iudicii*'.

130 E.g. *In Sam.* 4 (2045-6) 'sed approprinquante mundi termino'; cf. *In Lucam* 4 (1909-14) and *In Gen.* 2 (98.900-901) 'cum uiderint crebrescentibus mundi ruinis adpropinquare diem iudicii'. Gregory's formative influence on Bede's expectation of the end of the world is remarked by Bonner, *Saint Bede*, p. 5; Plummer, *Opera historica* 1, pp. lxvi–lxvii, 2.62; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Europe*, Jarrow Lecture, 1962, pp. 9–10; R.A. Markus, *Bede and the Tradition of Ecclesiastical Historiography*, Jarrow Lecture, 1975, p. 14, Henry Mayr-Harting,*The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), p. 217; Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 147–148 and 192–193. The Gregorian tag *adpropinquante mundi termino* becomes something of a cliché

> Besides, we would wish your majesty to know that the end of the world is at hand, as we learn from the works of Almighty God in the Holy Scriptures; and the kingdom of the saints which knows no end is near. As the end of the world approaches, many things threaten which have never happened before; these are changes in the sky and terrors from the heavens, unseasonable tempests, wars, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes in diverse places. Not all of these things will come about in our day, but they will all follow after our days. So if you see any of these things happening in your land, do not be troubled in mind; for these signs of the end of the world are sent in advance to make us heedful about our souls, watching for the hour of our death, so that when the Judge comes we may, through our good works, be found prepared.[131]

It is noteworthy, however, that Gregory shifts in the middle of the letter from a focus on cosmic signs of the end to a moral and reforming message. As noted above, Gregory's apocalypticism, while expressed in strikingly dramatic language, is not concerned with how soon was 'soon', but with how the message of 'soon' should energize Christians to shake off moral and spiritual complacency. In this respect, R.A. Markus sees Bede's views as fundamentally aligned with Gregory's.[132] While Bede does not imitate Gregory's identification of dire current events with signs of the end, it is surely significant that the phrase *appropinquante mundi termino* ('with the end of the world at hand') is found only in Gregory and Bede, and is used on a number of occasions by both writers.[133] 'The end is near' is never a cliché for Bede, but neither should it be taken too literally. The Great Paschal Cycle of 532 years that Bede lays out in chapter 65 of *The Reckoning of Time* runs from AD 532 to 1063, and he expresses no doubt that there will be a year 1063: indeed, he points out that the cycle can be further projected into both

---

in later Anglo-Saxon charters: see Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., 'The Final Countdown: Apocalyptic Expectations in Anglo-Saxon Charters', *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riano (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 510–514.

131 Ed. and trans. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 112–115.

132 Markus, 'Gregory and Bede'; this view is endorsed and developed by Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, chs. 6–7. Somewhat dissenting views are registered by McCready, *Miracles*, pp. 89–104, who argues that 'the end is near' is a *topos*, because Bede did not equate contemporary abuses in the Church with signs of the end. Jan Davidse, 'The Sense of History in the Works of the Venerable Bede', *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 23 (1982): 662–70, claims that Bede's debt to Gregory is overstated. The global issue of Bede's attachment to Gregory is discussed in Paul Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great*, Jarrow Lecture, 1964; Scott DeGregorio, 'The Venerable Bede on Prayer and Contemplation', *Traditio* 54 (1999): 1–39 at 3–15; *idem*, 'The Venerable Bede and Gregory the Great'. Substantial discussion of this theme is found in Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, pp. 51–67.

133 Markus, 'Gregory and Bede', pp. 249–250, n. 13.

the past and the future to find any date of Easter, whether past or to come.[134] In short, if Bede experienced a stronger sense of the immanence of the end in his later life, that sentiment did not express itself as a conviction that there would be no, or very few, future Easters.

Helpful guidance on these treacherous slopes is furnished by R.A. Markus, who observes that there is no essential contradiction between the eschatologically circumspect Bede of the *Commentary on Revelation* and the more vocally anxious Bede of the later writings. Bede's views fluctuated with his circumstances, his purposes and his audience.[135] The death of King Osred and the departure of Ceolfrith in 716, and the appearance of *appropinquante mundi termino* in the two commentaries mentioned above, may not be coincidental. Moreover, the victory of the 'Roman' party in Iona, and the advance of the Anglo-Saxon mission in Germany were causes for celebration in *HE*, but might also have suggested that the apostolic mission of converting the nations was almost finished.[136] Though some of these events lay in the future when Bede was composing the *Commentary on Revelation*, the implications of the successful conversion of the nations were already clear in his mind. The only place in the *Commentary* where he uses the term *consummatio (saeculi)* ('the consummation of the world-age') is in the quotation from Matt. 24:14 embedded in his exegesis of Rev. 14:6, where the Angel of the Eternal Gospel flies through the heavens to preach to every nation and people. Bede notes that this passage marks an important turning point in Revelation, when the account of 'the shifting and changeable warfare' of the Church and its enemies draws to an end, and the final separation of the just and the reprobate commences. Some of Bede's middle-period commentaries such as *On the Tabernacle* and *On the Temple* even allude to recent conversions of Jews, and the conversion of the Jews was an important marker for the inauguration of the end-times.[137]

Markus argues, however, that any changes in Bede's perspective were the result of the deepening of the very views that inform the *Commentary.* The

134 *Reckoning of Time* 65 (trans. Wallis, p. 156).

135 Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, chs. 7–8.

136 The temporal end of the world and the geographical ends of the earth share a common conceptual circumference in Bede's thinking: see Jennifer O'Reilly, 'Islands and Idols at the Ends of the Earth: Exegesis and Conversion in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité*, pp. 119–145; Darby, 'Bede's Eschatological Thought', pp. 315–317. The theme is an old one in the Insular world: the *Confession* of St Patrick also links his mission to the outermost reaches of the inhabited world with the imminent end: McGinn, 'The End of the World', p. 66.

137 Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 200–203; cf. McCready, *Miracles*, p. 95.

Commentary sees the Church as an army engaged in perennial struggle. As time went on, Bede's 'apocalyptic sense of a permanent conflict in history' sharpened his awareness of particular conflict in his own milieu and his own time, where before he had been content with generalizations. The foundation of Bede's views, however, remained Tyconian and Augustinian.[138] Wallace-Hadrill is in agreement: it was not the conflict with the eastern Emperors, nor even the rise of Islam, that made Bede more sensitive to the signs of the end, but the deepening of a zeal for reform that was inherent in Gregory's conception of the role of the papacy in connection with the Second Coming.[139] In Markus's view, Gregory's eschatology combines immanence with postponement, 'already' with 'not yet', an unscheduled future that is always almost here. Bede seems to have caught something of Gregory's sense of drama inherent in this tension, for in his analogy between the world-ages and the ages of human life in *On Times* 16, he substituted Gregory's more ominous *aetas decrepita* ('enfeebled' or 'decrepit' age) for Augustine's more neutral *senectus* ('old age') as the homologue of the sixth age of the world.[140]

In short, Bede gives no indication in the *Commentary on Revelation* that he was particularly concerned about the impending end of the world; but then, neither here nor elsewhere does he seem notably optimistic about the future of the Church. The burden of the Tyconian-Augustinian exegesis of Revelation was that until the very end, the two cities would be locked in conflict in their 'commingled camps', as Bede's prefatory poem put it. And as the *Letter to Plegwin* makes clear, Bede was firmly agnostic on when that end would come. Later in life he may have been willing to throw out hints that the situation in Northumbria, or in Christendom at large, was ominous, but it is noteworthy that in his response to his accusers in Wilfred's court, Bede identifies chronological speculation itself as the problem, and does not comment on other sources of alarm. The 'heresy of calculation' may have been, in Bede's eyes, actually a sign of the coming end. In the *Commentary on Revelation*, heresy exerts a disruptive effect on Bede's own efforts to avoid

138 Markus, *Bede and the Tradition of Ecclesiastical Historiography*, p. 14; *idem*, 'Living Within Sight', pp. 31–32.

139 Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Europe*, p. 9; McGinn, 'The End of the World', pp. 70–71.

140 *DT* 16 (ed. p. 601; trans. Kendall and Wallis, p. 118). Bede shifted *senectus* to the fifth age, displacing Augustine's *gravitas.* Augustine's analogy of world-ages and human stages of life is found in *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII* 58.3 and *DCD* 16.43. Gregory's *aetas decrepita* comes from his analogy between the hours of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard and the stages of human life: *Homiliae in Evangelia* 1.19. See Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 154–156.

apocalyptic speculation. In his exegesis of Rev. 14:18, he quotes Gregory to the effect that the time of the end is unknown, and at the same time the appearance of 'certain perverse people' is an infallible sign that it is near. Heresy, like persecution, is an ambiguous bridge between the indeterminate past and present, and the unscheduled future. It is always with us, but its ferocious resurgence is the overture to the end-times.

Bede's sources also offered him numerous occasions for introducing heresy into his discussion of Revelation: Tyconius yokes heretics with pagans and traitors as perennial enemies of the Church, and Primasius is vocally anti-Arian. But Bede also took up the theme on his own initiative. For example, in his exegesis on 9:1-3, he ventures out on his own to interpret the star falling from heaven upon earth as 'the flame of the heretics'. From Tyconius, he takes the notion that the great furnace is the final persecution, but he adds a detail not found in his source: the persecutors burn with *heretical* madness. Bede uses a term with a particularly heavy load of meaning for him – *perfidia* – to characterize the Nicolaitan heretics (2:12).[141] The locusts that emerge from the smoke of the pit represent not merely Primasius's 'blindness', but *heretical* blindness.[142] Commenting on Rev. 6:7 ('power was given to him over the four parts of the earth'), Bede makes the rather striking statement that 'the madness of Arius, which originated in Alexandria, reached the Gaulish sea [*ad Gallicum usque peruenit oceanum*]'. The implication that it reached Britain will be made explicit in *HE* 1.8.[143] Finally, he closes his commentary with a parting shot at the Pelagians and the Donatists (Rev. 22:21).

Bede's views on heresy are very complex – too complex, indeed, to attempt to analyse fully here[144] – but it is worth pointing out how the *Commentary on*

141 On the importance of the word *perfidia* for Bede and its association with heresy, see Alan Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 129–147.

142 Primasius 9.14, 34-35, 51; the locusts are also identified with heretics by (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 214.5-6; cf. Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede', p. 403.

143 On Arianism in the early medieval Insular milieu, see Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 47–52 and ch. 3 *passim.* It is possible that Bede's sensitivity to Arianism was heightened at the time when the *Commentary* was composed. This was also when he completed *On Times*, his exposition of Dionysius Exiguus's *computus.* Dionysius regarded his *annus domini* era as a way of affirming both the endorsement of the Alexandrian Easter reckoning at Nicaea, and its condemnation of Arianism: see Luciana Cuppo Csaki, '*Roma magistra historiae*: The Year 680 as *caput saeculi* in Cas. 641', *Roma, magistra mundi*, pp. 121–136 at 128–129.

144 Alan Thacker's illuminating paper 'Why Did Bede Think Heresy Mattered?', delivered

Revelation might have been coloured by very recent schisms, especially the Monothelete heresy. Arthur G. Holder argues that heresy was the core preoccupation of Bede's early exegesis, much as reform was of his later commentaries.[145] Bede grew up in an English church (and indeed, a monastery) that was marked by the doctrinal controversies that separated east and west. Benedict Biscop's first trip to Rome took place in 653, during the chaotic aftermath of Pope Martin I's arrest subsequent to the condemnation of Monotheletism at the Lateran Synod of 649. One of John the Chanter's tasks was to rally the English church in defence of Rome against Constantinople, and the synod of Hatfield in 679 composed a letter confirming the five ecumenical councils and the Lateran synod. Documents concerning this controversy flowed into Northumbria from Rome. Celia Chazelle finds traces in the Codex Amiatinus – the great Bible manuscript made at Wearmouth-Jarrow, and to which Bede himself may have contributed – of the fallout from the rejection by Pope Sergius I of the decrees of the Quinisext Council *in Trullo* held under Justinian II in 691–692.[146] Anxiety about heresy thus formed an important backdrop to Bede's early experience. And for any exegete schooled in Tyconius's thought, heretics were the principal representatives of those 'false brethren' who would reveal their enmity for the Faith in the last days.[147]

---

at the 2011 International Medieval Congress in Leeds, illustrated how deeply concerned Bede was with heresy, out of proportion to any real threat it posed in contemporary Britain. Thacker is enlarging his paper for publication in a forthcoming volume on *Bede and the Future*, ed. Peter Darby and Faith Wallis.

145 Arthur G. Holder, 'The Feminine Christ in Bede's Biblical Commentaries', *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité*, pp. 109–118 at 116.

146 The use of the Lamb to represent Christ (fol. VIIr) in a book which was a gift for St Peter and Rome was a statement of doctrinal allegiance in a time of tension: Celia Chazelle, 'Christ and the Vision of God: The Biblical Diagrams of the Codex Amiatinus', *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Department of Art and Archaeology in association with Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 84–111, esp. 99–102. See also Éamonn Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture, 1994, pp. 16–17, and Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Europe*, p. 9, on the importance of the Monothelete heresy for Bede; McCready, *Miracles* , pp. 121–22 on his obsession with Pelagianism.

147 Landes, 'Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled', pp. 156–165, who observes that the Vandal attacks were seen by North Africans such as Quodvultdeus as signs of the end, not because the Vandals were barbarians, or exceptionally violent, but because they were Arian heretics. The connection is, however, much older, for Athanasius records that St Anthony identified the Arians with Antichrist: Richard Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), p. 65.

4. SHAPE AND STYLE OF THE COMMENTARY ON REVELATION

The way Bede approached the task of composing this, his first work of exegesis, opens a window onto the emerging mental world of a brilliant and ambitious Christian thinker. What we see is a precocious interest in exegetical theory, a concern to master the overarching structure of the Biblical text, and an interpretive approach that was at once respectful of tradition, and bold in the way it deployed it.

4.1 The Poem of Bede the Priest

The *Commentary on Revelation* is the only work of exegesis for which Bede composed a verse epigraph. This may have been a youthful affectation, for the other works equipped with poetic prologues are also early, namely *On the Nature of Things* and its companion *On Times* (703) and *On the Holy Places* (*De locis sanctis*), probably composed around 702–703.[148] Four lines of verse preface *On the Nature of Things/On Times*, and six *On the Holy Places*; by contrast, the poem which Bede composed for his commentary on Revelation comprises twenty-two verses. It aims at grandeur in both content and style, with allusions to the *Aeneid* and classical, even recondite vocabulary.[149] Indeed, it was occasionally copied on its own into anthologies of poetry.[150] On the other hand, a number of manuscripts dropped the poem altogether, and at least half a dozen position it after rather than before the prose preface. Yet it deserves our attention for what it reveals about Bede's overall intentions. Its accents are strongly Tyconian and Augustinian. Revelation is introduced as a vision of conflict-in-progress between two cities, Babylon and Jerusalem. On one plane, the two cities are sharply distinguished, but on another, they are confusingly intermingled. John's vision is of ongoing war in the realm of 'wave-wandering wheels' (*fluctiuagas rotas*). There is a distant echo here of Neptune's chariot (*Aeneid* 1.147, 156), but *fluctiuagas* is Bede's word, and one of his favourite locutions. He likes to deploy it in connection with historic time, which rolls on unceasingly and unpredictably,

148 The verse epigraph usually heading *On the Nature of Things* in fact covers *On Times* as well: see trans. by Kendall and Wallis, p. 135. For the dating of *On the Holy Places*, see Brown, *A Companion to Bede*, p. 13. These epigraphs are not discussed by Michael Lapidge, *Bede the Poet*, Jarrow Lecture, 1993.

149 The Greek loan-word *choici* ('soil', 'earth') in line 3 evidently stumped many scribes: Brown, *A Companion to Bede*, p. 92.

150 E.g. in the eleventh-century German MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 639 (Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 91).

in contrast to the *stabilitas* of eternity and heaven.[151] The eventual separation of the two cities is assured, with the Lamb leading his hosts into heaven and the Dragon drowning with his followers in hell, but Bede's poem proclaims that it is the war itself that is his principal theme. He thus announces the bifocal character of Revelation as a symbolic account of historical time as well as a prophecy concerning its consummation.

4.2 Bede's Preface: The Structure of Revelation and the '*periochae*'

The preface of the *Commentary on Revelation* is divided into two parts. The first concerns the internal structure or divisions of the book of Revelation itself into seven sections; division was one of headings in the classical literary *accessus* – the formal scholarly 'approach' to the study of a text that identified the author, the intention of the work, its structure, genre and so forth. Following Tyconius, Bede calls these divisions *periochae* ('sections' or 'passages' of text)[152] and notes that each closes with a *recapitulatio* – a term which means 'recapitulation', but which carries a special connotation in the tradition of Revelation exegesis, as we shall see. The fact that the *periochae* are seven in number is probably not coincidental: Tyconius's exegetical rules are also seven in number, and the number seven features in the imagery of Revelation itself – the seven Churches, the seven seals, plagues and so forth. Tyconius saw these sevens as both a structural principle and an exegetical key to Revelation, and Bede endorsed this view. The first six *periochae* correspond to six distinct but chronologically superimposed aspects of the Church's history from the Incarnation to the end of the world, while the seventh refers to its eternal state in the world to come. Thus the first *periocha* opens with John's vision of the 'one like the Son of Man' who addresses words of encouragement and warning to the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev. 1:9–3:22). Bede points out that two of these messages are of special significance: the sixth, which announces the conversion of the Jews (an important signal of the immanent end of the world, of which more

151 See note 832 below, *re:* Bede's exegesis of Rev. 16:20.

152 From the Greek *perioche*: cf. Acts 8:32, where the term refers to the passage of Scripture which Philip expounded to the Ethiopian eunuch. In the Vulgate it is translated *locus*. On Tyconius's *periochae*, see Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction, ch. 3.3. Bede's *periocha* four does not quite match Tyconius's: *ibid.*, p. 100. For an instructive table comparing Bede's division of the text and placement of the *recapitulationes* to that of other preceding and succeeding exegetes, see Yves Christe, 'Traditions littéraires et iconographiques dans l'interprétation des images apocalyptiques', *L'Apocalypse de Jean: Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques: IIIe–XIIIe siècles*, tableaux 1 and 2.

below in section 4.4 of this Introduction); and the seventh, which rebukes the lukewarmness of the church of Laodicea. In every sequence of sevens, the sixth and seventh carry a special meaning.[153]

The importance of this pattern is underscored in Bede's explanation of the second *periocha*, which covers the vision of the court of heaven and the opening by the Lamb of the seven seals (Rev. 4:1–8:1).[154] The opening of each of the first six seals (which Bede will expound as symbols of the historical experience of the Church from its beginnings to the time of Antichrist) is followed by a catastrophe upon earth, but the sixth seal, the earthquake, is followed by a recapitulation – the signing of the twelve tribes and the vision of the 'multitude without number' (7:1-17). The opening of the seventh seal (8:1) inaugurates, not a seventh catastrophe, but the next *periocha*. The third and fourth *periochae* replicate the second, but use different images (*species*) and symbols (*figurae*). The third concerns the seven trumpets (8:2–11:18). Here again, the first six trumpets and the disasters they announce are followed by a recapitulation – the eating of the book, the measurement of the city, and the episode of the two witnesses. The seventh trumpet announces 'the eternal sabbath'; hence it inaugurates, not another disaster, but a triumphant hymn of praise. It also ushers in the fourth *periocha*. This *periocha* is a *recapitulatio* of the history of the Church told through the image of the Woman clothed in the Sun, her Child, and the Dragon (Rev. 12:1–14:20).

The fifth *periocha* returns to the pattern of the seven angels dispensing seven catastrophes: this time they are vials of plagues (15:1–16:21). Once again, six vials inaugurate six disasters, but the seventh, instead of bringing in a fresh plague, announces the end of the series: 'It is done'. History is finished, and judgement is come. The sixth and seventh *periocha* show the contrasting fates of the two cities, Babylon (17:1–21.9) and Jerusalem (21:9–22:21).

Given this attention to the architecture of Revelation, it is rather surprising that Bede did not actually use the *periocha* division to structure his exposition. The *periochae* are not even mentioned in the body of the *Commentary*, though some of the early manuscripts mark where the *periochae* begin at the appropriate places in the text.[155] Instead, his preface points to two other ways

153 Ann Matter argues that Bede's *periochae* stand for ages of the world: 'Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages', pp. 34–35. However, the word *periocha* does not carry any temporal connotation, but simply means summary or section. Bede himself never suggests a connection between the *periochae* and the world-ages.

154 On this *periocha*, see Christe, 'Ap. IV–VIII, 1', pp. 146–147.

155 These are the MSS of Gryson's g family: Bede ed. Introduction, pp. 145–146. On the other hand, Bede's *periochae* were rediscovered in the eleventh century by Anselm of Laon

in which he has articulated the text. First, he ordered the material into three books.[156] Though the three books actually correspond to *periochae* 1–2, 3–4 and 5–7 respectively, this division is not accorded any inherent significance. Taking his cue from Augustine, Bede claims that they are simply convenient stopping points for the reader. On the other hand, he attaches great significance to his division of the commentary into chapters:

> nonetheless so that whose who seek may more readily find, it will be seen that the same unbroken order of chapters [*capitulorum intemerata series*] ought to be preserved throughout, in accordance with the way in which I previously distinguished them in the chapter-headings which are prefaced [*praepositis brevibus*] to the book [*libellus*] itself.

In sum, Bede's *capitula* in the *Commentary* correspond to chapter numbers and summary headings (*breves*) which are to be found at the beginning of his copy of Revelation, and which will allow the reader to refer back and forth between the commentary and the text of Scripture. The relationship between the Bede's three books, seven *periochae* and 38 chapters is summarized in Table 1.

The word *breves* has a technical meaning in the language of scholarship of late antiquity. It means a summary composed of *tituli* or headings; Cassiodorus equates the term with *divisa commonitio*, a 'divided reminder', or in other words, an outline.[157] *Capitula lectionum* are *breves*, being a kind of table of contents composed of short numbered summaries of the contents of a book of the Bible, usually found at the beginning of the text, and keyed to the contents of the book by the numbers. They enable the reader to gain an overview of the text, and, by means of the reference numbers, to find readily any particular section. Bede was familiar with the system; the Codex Amiatinus, for instance, incorporated *capitula*, though not for Revelation. Moreover, Bede himself claims to have composed *capitula* for much of the Old Testament, and all of the New Testament except for the Gospels.[158] He used *capitula* to structure

---

and his school, and recruited as a structural element of the nascent *glossa* on Revelation: Yves Christe, 'De l'absence ou des lacunes d'Ap 15,1–20,15 dans les cycles apocalyptiques monumentaux des XIe–XIIe siècles', *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 41 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1994), pp. 812–813.

156 Bede was probably inspired by Primasius, who structured his own commentary in five books. Bede's division has been mistakenly projected backwards onto Tyconius's commentary: Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, pp. 118–120.

157 Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, pp. 92–93.

158 *HE* 5.24 (568): Colgrave and Mynors somewhat misleadingly translate *capitula lectionum* as 'summaries of lessons' (p. 569).

Table 1: The divisions of Bede's *Commentary* and the text of Revelation

Bede's books	Bede's *periochae*	Bede's *capitula*	Content of *capitula*	Modern chapters/verses
1	Preface	I	Title	1:1-3
		II	Salutation	1:4-8
	1. The vision of the Son of Man and the messages to the Seven Churches	III	Vision of 'one like the Son of Man'	1:9-20
		IV	Messages to the Seven Churches	2:1–3:21
	2. The vision of Heaven and the opening of the Seven Seals	V	Vision of the Throne, the Four Living Beings, and the Twenty-four Elders	4:1-11
		VI	The Lamb is given the scroll sealed with the seven seals	5:1-12
		VII	The first five seals: the Four Horsemen and the souls beneath the altar	6:1-11
		VIII	The sixth seal: the earthquake	6:12-17
		IX	The sealing of the Tribes	7:1-8
		X	Acclamation of the Lamb by the multitude in white robes; the Lamb opens the seventh seal	7:9–8:1
2	3. The Seven Trumpets	XI	The angel with the golden censer	8:2-6
		XII	The first four trumpets: hail and fire, the mountain thrown into the sea, the star Wormwood, the darkening of the heavenly bodies	8:7-13
		XIII	The fifth angel (first woe): locusts	9:1-12
		XIV	The sixth angel (second woe): the army of the Euphrates	9:13-21

Bede's books	Bede's *periochae*	Bede's *capitula*	Content of *capitula*	Modern chapters/verses
		XV	The angel with the little book	10:1-7
		XVI	John eats the little book	10:8-11
		XVII	The two witnesses	11:1-14
		XVIII	The seventh trumpet: Acclamation of God and Christ	11:15-18
	4. The Woman, the Dragon, and the Beasts	XIX	The Woman clothed with the sun	11:19–12:6
		XX	War in heaven; the dragon pursues the Woman	12:7-17
		XXI	The beast with ten horns and seven heads	13:1-10
		XXII	The second beast with two horns: '666'	13:11-18
		XXIII	The Lamb and the 144,000 on Mount Zion	14:1-5
		XXIV	The three angels	14:6-13
		XXV	The harvest and the vintage	14:14-20
3	5. The Seven Vials of Plagues	XXVI	The song of triumph of the saints around the sea of glass and fire	15:1-4
		XXVII	The first five plagues: sores, sea turned to blood, fountains turned to blood, scorching sun, darkness	15:5–16:11
		XXVIII	The sixth plague: Euphrates dried up. The dragon, beast and false prophet spew out foul spirits. Armies assemble at Armegeddon	16:12-17
		XXIX	The seventh angel's vial is emptied and the angel announces, 'It is done'. Lightning, thunder, earthquake and hail	16:18-21
	6. The fate of Babylon	XXX	The Harlot	17:1-6

Bede's books	Bede's *periochae*	Bede's *capitula*	Content of *capitula*	Modern chapters/verses
		XXXI	Interpretation of the Harlot and the beast with the ten horns	17:7-18
		XXXII	Proclamation of the fall of Babylon	18:1-20
		XXXIII	Rejoicing at the fall of Babylon	18:21–19:10
		XXXIV	The Rider Faithful and True goes forth and defeats the beast and the false prophet	19:11-21
		XXXV	The dragon is cast into the pit for 1000 years; the reign of the saints; the dragon is released and finally defeated	20:1-9
		XXXVI	The judgement of the living and the dead. The new Jerusalem descends from heaven	20:11–21:8
	7. The triumph of Jerusalem	XXXVII	Description of the Heavenly Jerusalem	21:9–22:5
		XXXVIII	Final admonitions and blessings	22:6-21

his commentary on 1 Samuel, and also copied them into his commentaries on Mark and Luke.

Manuscript Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B.6 (*c.* 850; n. France, perhaps Reims), a Bible whose text of Revelation contains *capitula lectionum*,[159] has attracted much attention because of its close links to Alcuin. The *capitula*, keyed to the text by marginal numbers (albeit not entirely accurately), contain clear echoes of passages in Bede's *Commentary*, and Steinhauser concluded that they were composed at Wearmouth or Jarrow around 700.[160] On the basis

159 Transcribed by Sparks, pp. 410–418. The Vallicelliana *capitula* have been designated the *Tur* series by Donatien De Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine* (Namur: Auguste Godenne, 1914), pp. 369–399. The text was first published by G.M. Tommasi, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1 (Rome: Typographia Palladis, 1749), pp. 475–479. See also Haussleiter, *Die lateinische Apokalypse*, p. 196.

160 Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, pp. 111–113. E.g. Bede's exegesis of Rev. 6:1 contains a reference to the 'threefold war' mentioned in *capitulum* VII, which would immediately precede 6:1: see Translation, p. 140; that of 8:1 ends with an allusion

of a much more extensive stylistic comparison of all the sets of *capitula* in this manuscript, Paul Meyvaert has argued that the author was none other than Bede himself.[161] Neither Steinhauser nor Meyvaert refers to the passage in Bede's preface concerning *praepositis brevibus*, but in fact the capitulation of Bede's *Commentary* matches that in the Vallicelliana manuscript. This reinforces the case for identifying the Vallicelliana *capitula lectionum* as Bede's *breves*. Gryson edited the *capitula* from the Vallicelliana Bible, Paris BNF lat. 4, and Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 2 in the Introduction to his edition of the *Commentary* (pp. 137–139), and pointed to parallels to the *Commentary* (pp. 139–141 and apparatus *passim*). A translation of the *capitula* based on this edition is included in the Appendix of the present volume.

Bede's *capitula lectionum* bring the complex interplay between the historic and the prophetic strands of Revelation to the fore, and emphasize the central role assigned to Antichrist. The Christ who appears at the beginning of John's vision is both the historic and the glorified Christ (I–III). The messages to the Seven Churches (IV) concern the whole period of the Church's history, past, present and future. The apocalyptic tribulations are unfolding in the present age as the repeated attack of pagans, traitors and heretics (VII) and will be mirrored in the persecutions launched by Antichrist (VIII); likewise, Antichrist's downfall is already enacted in Christ's incarnation (IX). The acclamation of the white-robed multitude points to the defeat of Antichrist, but the recapitulation (X) brings the reader back to the historical plane. The perennial struggle continues between righteous teachers (XII) and heresy (XIII); the angels of Satan now work from within the hearts of the wicked, though in the future they will be openly revealed (XIII). Just as Antichrist's fall is about to be described, the text once again reverts to the history of the Church throughout time (XV–XVI). Then it turns to the final persecution and the preaching and martyrdom of the Two Witnesses (XVII), which ends, once again, in the acclamations of the saints at God's triumph (XVIII). The symbolic figure of the Woman clothed with the Sun returns us to the historical conflict of the Church and the Devil (XIX–XX). Then the pendulum swings back to the prophetic: Antichrist, the beast with ten horns and seven heads, reigns for three and a half years, and is slain (XXI). His career is shadowed by that of the second beast, who stands for his followers (XXII). The prophetic pace builds as the 144,000

---

to the *capitulum* which immediately follows at the beginning of Book 2 (see Translation, p. 159), and that on 9:21 echoes *capitulum* XV (see Translation, pp. 175, 289).

161 Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede's *capitula lectionum* for the Old and New Testaments', *Revue bénédictine* 105 (1995): 348–380, esp. 355–357.

redeemed who resisted Antichrist rejoice (XXIII), but before they appear a second time (XXVI), the historical dimension intervenes, with preachers announcing the Last Judgement (XXIV–XXV). Following the established pattern, the first five plagues concern the historical experience of the Church (XXVII), but the sixth points forward to Antichrist (XXVIII). At this point, however, the emptying of the seventh vial and the angel's proclamation 'It is done' hurtles the text into the future (XXIX). The vision of the Harlot and the Beast (XXX–XXXI) inaugurates the account of the definitive collapse of Babylon (XXXII–XXXIII). The Rider, Faithful and True, defeats Antichrist and the Devil (XXXIV). There is nonetheless a recapitulative pause: the chaining of the dragon and the reign of the saints for a thousand years represents the history of the Church from the Incarnation to the final conflict, when the Devil will be released and defeated forever (XXXV). The resurrection and the judgement of the living and the dead signal the true end of the *saeculum*, and the passage of time into eternity (XXXVI–XXXVIII).

Two conclusions may be drawn from this evidence. First, Bede conceived his *Commentary* as a companion to the full text of *Revelation*, and this full text was equipped with numbered *breves*, that is, a set of *capitula lectionum*, composed by Bede himself. The *Commentary* and the text of Revelation with its *capitula* may have been in the same *libellus*, though this is not entirely clear.[162] Secondly, Bede expected the *capitula* numbers to be used as a reference system to link his exposition to the Biblical text.

Many early manuscripts of the *Commentary* retain Bede's chapter divisions more or less faithfully. However, without a Bible equipped with the *breves*, the chapter numbers are useless as a reference system; for this reason, they tend to drop out of the manuscripts of the *Commentary* over the course of time. Where present, they are often altered, or reproduced inaccurately,[163] or replaced by other systems of capitulation: Adhémar of Chabannes composed his own system of chapter divisions for Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Phillipps 1614 (copied in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1003, s. XII), as did the scribe of Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 52.[164]

162 Some early copies of the *Commentary* are found in manuscripts containing Revelation, notably Rome, Vallicelliana B 25 ii (Rome, s.IX in.). The text of Revelation in this manuscript even contains *capitula*, but they are not the same as those in Vallicelliana B 6, nor are they linked to Bede's commentary: Gryson designates them KA Apc A. They are the same set of 48 *capitula* published by Haussleiter, *Die lateinische Apokalypse*, pp. 197–199.

163 Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, pp. 141–143.

164 Gryson discusses and transcribes these chapter divisions in his Introduction, pp.

4.3 Bede's Preface: The Methodological Framework

The second part of Bede's preface to the *Commentary on Revelation* is a survey of principles guiding the interpretation of Biblical texts, devised by Tyconius, and expounded in his *Book of Rules*. Like the divisions of the text of Revelation, they are seven in number: a symmetry Bede seems to have appreciated.[165] It is in fact not improbable that Tyconius conceived of his commentary as an illustration of his exegetical rules.[166] The *Book of Rules*, unlike Tyconius's commentary on Revelation, has survived in its original form.[167] However, medieval readers knew of the rules through the epitome in book 3 of Augustine's *On Christian Learning* (*De doctrina christiana*), or through summaries of and excerpts from *On Christian Learning*, such as the 'Monza Epitome'.[168] Bede was no exception, though he used *On Christian Learning* directly, and not the excerpts in Eugippius's anthology, or an epitome.[169] Augustine's approval of both Tyconius and his principles

147–151. Conversely a number of manuscripts of the Bible incorporate Bede's chapter divisions (pp. 150–151). The three manuscripts are respectively nos. 13, 101 and 96 in his inventory, Introduction ch. I.

165 George Hardin Brown, *Bede the Venerable* (Boston: Twayne, 1987), p. 50.

166 Gryson, Tyc. trans. Introduction, pp. 11–12; P. Marone, 'La continuità esegetica che caratterizza le opere di Ticonio ovvero l'applicazione delle Regole nel Commento all'Apocalisse', *Studi e matriali di storia delle religioni* 67 (2001): 253–270.

167 From which it was edited by Burkitt (see Abbreviations), whose edition is the basis of the translation by W.S. Babcock (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989). Burkitt's edition is the one cited in Gryson's apparatus to his edition of Bede's *Commentary*. It is reproduced, virtually without change but with a facing-page French translation and substantial introduction, in Jean-Mark Vercruysse, *Tyconius. Le livre des règles*, Sources chrétiennes 488 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2004). For discussion of manuscripts and text transmission, see Burkitt, pp. xxi, Vercruysse, *Le livre des règles*, Introduction, pp. 104–115. Fundamental studies include Pamela Bright, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius. Its Purpose and Inner Logic*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 2 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), and the essays in *A Conflict of Christian Hermeneutics in Roman Africa: Tyconius and Augustine*, ed. Charles Kannengiesser and Pamela Bright, Protocol of the fifty-eighth Colloquy: 16 October 1988, Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, Graduate Theological Union and University of California – Berkeley (Berkeley: [The Center], 1989).

168 Burkitt's ed., pp. xxi–xxiv and Appendix; Vercruysse, *Le livre des règles*, Introduction, pp. 90–94; Pamela Bright, '"The Preponderating Influence of Augustine": A Study of the Epitomes of the *Book of Rules* of the Donatist Tyconius', *Augustine and the Bible*, ed. Pamela Bright, The Bible through the Ages, 2 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), pp. 109–128; Pierre Cazier, 'Le *Livre des règles* de Tyconius. Sa transmission du *De doctrina christiana* aux *Sentences* d'Isidore de Seville', *Revue des études augustiniennes* 19 (1973): 241–261.

169 This is demonstrated by Mackay, 'Bede's Biblical Criticism', pp. 213–219. See also Vercruysse, *Le livre des règles*, Introduction, pp. 50–82, esp. pp. 80–82.

bestowed the benediction of patristic authority on Bede's choice. But it also meant that Bede's understanding of Tyconian hermeneutics was filtered through Augustine's sometimes considerable revision of Tyconius's ideas.[170] But we must bear in mind that Bede frankly proclaims his dependence on Tyconius for both the substance and the spirit of his own *Commentary*. Given Tyconius's controversial reputation, Bede's posting of *Augustine*'s summary of the *Rules* serves to justify the use of Tyconius's commentary, in which these rules were actually applied. In short, if the principles of Tyconius's exegesis are approved by patristic authority, so must the product. However, this is not to suggest that reproducing the *Rules* was merely a kind of insurance policy against critical attack. Bede also made creative and independent use of the *Rules*, or at least some of them, for his own exegetical purposes.

Augustine's epitome changed, sometimes quite radically, the fundamental ideas and intentions of the *Book of Rules*. To begin with, Augustine stripped out much of their eschatological and ecclesiological framework.[171] Tyconius's *Rules* were deeply bound up with his vision of the Church as *ecclesia bipartita*, and his conviction that the historical realities of Scripture are mystically re-enacted in the Church's contemporary trials. The task of the exegete was therefore to read the 'prophecies' as signs of the times – not as proof of literal fulfilment, but as revelations of the inner state of the Church. In particular, 'breaking open' the prophecies reveals the 'separation' (*discessio*) – a term that comes from the apocalyptic prophecy of 2 Thess. 2:3, but which Tyconius reads as the actualization of the essential cleavage between righteous and reprobate. The persecution of the Donatists was therefore not an episode in the unfolding drama of the end-time, where a small remnant of true believers endured suffering at the hands of Antichrist, but rather a sign revealing the cleavage between true and false Christians within the Church. In Tyconius's pithy phrase, 'But what Daniel said is going on now in Africa, and the end is not at this time'.[172]

Much of this background is muted in Augustine's epitome, and consequently in Bede's understanding. But Bede could to some degree have reconstituted it through Tyconius's commentary on Revelation. Tyconius's first rule 'concerns the Lord and his Body'. It holds that when Scripture appears

170 See Bright, *Book of Rules*, esp. ch. 5; Robert A. Kugler, 'Tyconius' *Mystic Rules* and the Rules of Augustine', *Augustine and the Bible*, pp. 129–148; Vercruysse, *Le livre des règles*, 'Note complémentaire 3', pp. 385–389.

171 Gryson, Tyc. trans. Introduction, pp. 26–28.

172 Tyconius, *Lib. reg.* 67.8-10; this analysis is based on Bright, *Book of Rules*, esp. chs. 3–4. See also Gryson, Tyc. trans. Introduction, pp. 54–56.

to speak of the Lord, what it says can be applied as well to the Church which is his Body, and *vice versa*. Bede's own *Commentary* contains numerous instances where this principle is invoked. Sometimes it is expressly ascribed to Tyconius, as in the exegesis of Rev. 5:6, where Bede reports that Tyconius identifies the Lamb with 'the Church, which has received all power in Christ'.[173] At other times, Tyconius is not named as the source, though his lost commentary may well underlie Bede's text: for instance, commenting on Rev. 2.13, Bede notes that the martyr Antipas of Pergamum may stand for Christ himself, who is continuously martyred by unbelievers.

The second rule, concerning the 'two-fold (*bipartito*) Body of the Lord', posed more serious challenges. Augustine himself had some reservations about Tyconius's formulation, because it implied that the temporal condition of the Church as a mixture of good and evil people was in fact an essential part of its nature, and thus of Christ's nature. For him, evil was not a real part of the Church, but only appeared as such. Hence in his summary of Tyconius's rules, Augustine reproduces Tyconius's example from the Song of Solomon 1:4 – 'I am dusky and beautiful, as the tabernacle of Kedar and as the tent of Solomon', – but alters Tyconius's interpretation of the 'tabernacle of Kedar'. For Tyconius, this juxtaposition of Ishmaelite and Israelite was a symbol of the *inseparable* nature of the double seed of Abraham within a single Church;[174] for Augustine, it is a figure of their radical *separateness* 'for [Ishmael] is not to be an heir with the son of the free woman'.[175] Augustine therefore suggested two re-formulations: 'of the True (i.e. essential and eternal) and Mixed (i.e. temporal and contingent) Body of the Lord', and 'the True and Simulated Body'. Bede chose the latter, and passed over the former. For example, his exegesis of Rev. 14:10 incorporated a quotation from *The City of God* 20.9 that identified the Beast with those who are Christians in appearance only. But some of the essence of Tyconius's notion of the 'bipartite' or 'double church' (*ecclesia bipartita*) seems to have filtered into Bede's *Commentary*. Tyconius's own explanation of Rule 2 emphasizes that when Scripture ascribes praise and blame simultaneously to one object, the spiritual addressee is the *ecclesia bipartita*. One of his examples is the sequence of prophecies to the Seven Churches of Asia in Rev. 1:11, 2:1, and following. In his exegesis of these passages, Bede on a number of occasions uses unmistakably Tyconian formulations. Indeed, he concludes his commentary on this section with a summary striking for both

173 See below, p. 138, and also exegesis of 14:19 (n. 216).
174 *Lib. reg.* 10.13-30; cf. Bright, *Book of Rules*, p. 13.
175 *DDC* 3.32.45 (105.13-20).

its understanding of the concept of *ecclesia bipartita*, and its understanding of Tyconius's notion of prophecy:

> Note that in the case of each of the Churches, the Lord first displays his power, and then rehearses what is praiseworthy or blameworthy in the Church, with admonition intermixed. Finally he pays out the reward due to each side, which we can understand as both happening in the present, and to come in the future…[176]

On Rev. 2:1, Bede quotes from Tyconius's commentary: 'He rebukes a part of this Church, and praises a part, in accordance with the significance of its name. For Ephesus means "a great falling away" and [also] "my will is in her"'. Indeed, the example of the Seven Churches is invoked in the *Book of Rules*' discussion of Rule 2.[177]

The third rule concerns 'the promises and the Law', and in Tyconius's original work, it illustrated the bipartite nature of the Church, at once subject to the Law, and the recipient of Grace.[178] Augustine preferred not to draw too much attention to this as an exegetical principle, lest it provide ammunition to the Pelagians, and Bede has little to say about it. The fourth rule, 'of species and genus' on the other hand, is one which Bede applied with considerable enthusiasm. In the context of Tyconius's concept of prophecy, it showed how specific instances of rebuke or threat in Scripture could be read as generic warnings. Much of this is lost in Augustine's epitome, but Bede could have found it in Tyconius's commentary on Revelation.[179]

Tyconius's fourth rule 'of times' was of intense interest to Bede. Augustine's explanation makes this rule into a particular case of 'species and genus', but for Tyconius himself, its scope was wider. Scripture uses numbers, especially references to periods of time, in two ways. First, by synecdoche, so that specific measures of time can stand for the whole period of time and *vice versa*. Tyconius's example is the chronology of Christ's passion and resurrection; Christ can be said to have lain buried for three days and nights, when in fact he was in the tomb for about thirty-six hours. This notion assumed a permanent significance for Bede, for it reappeared in ch. 5 of *The Reckoning of Time*, but Bede was equally impressed with the concept of 'legitimate' or 'fixed' numbers. Tyconius defined these as symbolic numbers, for example seven, ten or twelve (and their mathematical products), by which

176 See below, p. 131.

177 *Lib. reg.* 11.3; cf. Bright, *Book of Rules*, p. 87. It is indicative of Augustine's unwillingness to accept the notion of *ecclesia bipartita* that he actually claims that Tyconius never applied his rules to the exegesis of this particular section of Revelation: *DDC* 3.30.42 (102.17–103.23).

178 Bright, *Book of Rules*, pp. 66 *sqq.*, p. 104.

179 Bright, *Book of Rules*, pp. 72–73.

the Bible designates either a long period of time, or the totality of time. For Bede, this insight into the protean nature of Biblical numbers furnished the exegete with an instrument of enormous flexibility. For example, it could be used to transform a specific time-prophecy into a generic reference to 'all time'. Here is where it proved truly useful in expounding Revelation, for Tyconius dismissed the literal millennium by classifying 1000 as a legitimate number, not a literal chronological indicator. Bede's own exegesis of Rev. 20:3-5 shows the extent of Tyconius's triumph: Bede quotes verbatim from Primasius, who is quoting verbatim from Augustine, who incorporates fully the concept of legitimate numbers. Moreover, in expounding Rev. 8:6, Bede likens the seven angels with the seven trumpets to the Church and its historic mission to proclaim the word. This idea is derived from Tyconius through Primasius,[180] but the next thought has no traceable source or analogue. Bede compares the seven angelic trumpets to the trumpets which brought down the walls of Jericho in seven days: 'For the seven-day circling [of the walls of Jericho] intimates the totality of the time of the Church'. Bede made this connection himself, based on Tyconius's Rule 5.

Rule Six is the principle of recapitulation. For Tyconius, this term appears to have had two meanings: as a literary device, and as an application of typology. The latter meaning of 'recapitulation' goes back to Irenaeus of Lyon, and even to St Paul; the core concept is that key figures or events gather into themselves the totality of a theological mystery. Thus Antichrist, for example, recapitulates all evil and opposition to God from the beginning of the world to the end.[181] The literary application of 'recapitulation' to Revelation, discussed above in relation to Victorinus of Pettau, is a disruption of chronological order; Augustine records only this literary connotation in *On Christian Learning*, possibly influenced by his own reading of Tyconius's *Revelation* commentary.[182]

The final rule is the homologue of the first. Just as references to Christ may be references to his body the Church, so also allusions to the Devil may in fact pertain to *his* body, the damned. In Tyconius's original *Book of Rules*, however, the implications of this principle were very far-reaching: it was the key to revealing the mystery of the Antichrist's advent 'in the midst' of the historic Church, and therefore the climax of Tyconius's quest for clues to the 'mystery of iniquity'.[183] This is largely lost in Augustine's epitome, but

180 See p. 163, n. 363.

181 McGinn, *Antichrist*, p. 59.

182 Dulaey, 'La sixième règle de Tyconius', pp. 88–89.

183 Bright, *Book of Rules*, pp. 83–86; Brown, *Bede the Venerable*, p. 50.

Bede in effect recovered it through Tyconius's commentary. An exceptionally striking example is found in Bede's exegesis of Rev. 13:5-6. Tyconius's commentary furnishes Bede with a lapidary summary of the key elements of Rule 7, replete with Tyconius's signature phrases: 'mystery of iniquity', 'separation' (*discessio*), 'man of sin'.[184]

In sum, Bede was dependent on Augustine for his formal understanding of Tyconius's rules, but through his access to Tyconius's commentary on Revelation, he had an independent avenue for understanding how Tyconius himself conceived them. This is demonstrated in the final part of his Preface, where Bede actually disagrees with Augustine about the scope and nature of Tyconius's rules. Augustine criticizes the Donatist for claiming that his hermeneutic technique was applicable to any obscurity in Scripture. Tyconius, of course, made this claim precisely because obscurity, for him, was synonymous with those 'prophetic' passages whose present import has to be 'broken open' by exegesis. For Augustine, however, 'obscurity' simply meant any statement which could not be readily understood or accepted at face value. The global applicability of the Rule to the whole of Scripture was therefore questionable.[185] Bede, on the other hand, goes out of his way to point out that Tyconius's rules apply not only to Revelation, but to 'the whole of canonical Scripture, particularly prophetic Scripture'.[186] One can only conclude that Bede had grasped through reading Tyconius's commentary on Revelation something of the comprehensive hermeneutics that underpinned the *Book of Rules*.

Bede's defence of the Rules' wide applicability is woven into a defence of his own profound indebtedness to Tyconius's commentary. Tyconius's is the only commentary he openly acknowledges as a major source. He defends the essential orthodoxy of Tyconius's interpretation, though in the Prologue he takes him to task for flattering the Donatists by identifying their persecution at the hands of Valentinian with the torments inflicted on the faithful in Revelation.[187] Moreover, Bede ostentatiously inverts Primasius's mean-spirited comparison of his own wholesale pillaging of Tyconius's commentary to 'plucking gems from dung and restoring them to their pristine worth'.[188] For Bede, Tyconius was, on the contrary 'one who (as it was said of him) flowered as a rose among thorns', a man of insight who

184 See below, p. 199. For other echoes of Rule 7, see exegesis on Rev. 11:2.
185 *DCD* 3.30.43 (103.27-48); cf. Bright, *Book of Rules*, ch. 5.
186 See below, p. 105.
187 See below, p. 105.
188 Primasius, [Prologue] (1.7 *sqq.*, esp. 2.18-22).

understood Revelation vividly and explained it in a truthful and orthodox manner. Bede was not embarrassed to name him as his teacher.

4.4 The Unscheduled Future: How Bede Shapes the Meaning of Revelation

Bede carried out his intention to convey an impeccably orthodox and patristic interpretation of Revelation by giving his commentary a certain shape, and by filling that shape with a distinctive meaning. By using Primasius and Tyconius as the virtually invisible framework on which to display passages culled from Augustine, Gregory and Jerome, Bede in effect argues that the great Fathers endorsed a coherent and authoritative reading of Revelation. There may have been an urgent need around 700 for such an orthodox synthesis.[189] But the tradition Bede was working with was ambivalent: it wanted to retain the core prophetic message of Revelation, but uncouple its belief that the world would end from any unhealthy and intemperate use of John's vision as a prophecy. Bede likewise never renounced an interest in the prophetic character of the Revelation. Indeed, he re-oriented that prophetic character by making Revelation point, not to an indeterminate range of generic events that could happen at any time (such as disasters or persecutions), but to a specific scenario of the future. This essentially Augustinian scenario – a homogeneous Sixth Age, and a clear narrative of its future dénouement – was defined by events not found in Revelation, indeed barely found in the Bible at all, namely the conversion of the Jews and the rise and fall of Antichrist. No *deadline* was or could be associated with the onset of these events, but they were still certain, for Revelation arranged them into a chronological *time-line.* In sum, Bede found a way to orient Revelation safely to the future, while leaving that future unscheduled.

As the analysis of the *periochae* and *capitula lectionum* above indicate, Bede internalized the patristic position that Revelation is not linear and sequential narrative, but multi-directional and disrupted, pointing simultaneously to past, present and/or future. However, he seems to want to go beyond reading Revelation in the light of the total history of the Church by deliberately playing down the potential of the text to trigger speculation about the immediacy of the end-times. A particularly subtle way of muting the prophetic tone of Revelation was to explain away, or avoid altogether any passages that seemed to say that the end was coming soon. As noted above,

189 See above, pp. 43–57.

Bede does not comment on every verse of Revelation, and he often truncates those which he does expound. Peter Darby has perceptively observed that Bede tends to drop phrases that proclaim the swift approach of the end. For example, his lemma for 1:3 reproduces the first half of the verse, 'Blessed is he who reads and hears the words of this prophecy', but omits the entire second clause, 'and keeps those things which are written in it: for the time is at hand'. Moreover, his commentary, based loosely on Primasius, directs the reader's attention not to the *future* but to *eternity.* Whole verses are passed over, such as 2:16: 'In like manner do penance. If not, I will come to you quickly and will fight against you with the sword of my mouth'. Most striking of all is Bede's treatment of 22:7, 'Behold, I come quickly'. Not only does he drop these words from the lemma, but his exposition warns that literal interpretations of Revelation have an unsavoury association with heresy. Not surprisingly, 22:12 ('Behold, I come quickly…'.) is passed over altogether. Bede does indeed confront the third proclamation in 22:20 ('Surely, I come quickly'), but, helped by Primasius, he draws the sting of imminence from the passage by linking it to the Church's daily prayer 'thy kingdom come', and to the allegorical dialogue of Bride and Bridegroom in the Song of Solomon. This diversionary tactic is also employed in his exegesis of 3:11: the lemma reads 'Behold I come quickly (*Ecco uenio cito…*)', but Bede rewrites the text as a promise of divine assistance: 'I shall swiftly help you (*cito enim auxiliabor…*) lest perchance you should fail'.[190]

Another way in which Bede softened the eschatological intensity of Revelation was to uncouple 'prophecy' from prediction of the future. Commenting on 22:8, 'For I am your fellow-servant, and of your brethren the prophets', Bede says: 'Notice how frequently John is called a "prophet" and this book a "prophecy". For there is much in this book which accorded with the prophets not only in meaning, but also in words. How many verses from Isaiah, Zechariah, and the other prophets you can find here!' In sum, John's status as a prophet rests not on predictions which are or will be coming true, but on his quotations from the Old Testament prophets, whose literal prophecies had already been fulfilled. Even where Bede takes prophecy to mean foreseeing what is to come, he mutes its effect with a qualification. For example, commenting on the loosing of the four angels who were prepared for an hour and a day and a month and a year to slay one-third of humanity (9:15), Bede begins with a strikingly literal observation, leaning on Primasius: 'As is the manner of prophecy, *that speaks of what will happen*

190 Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 189–91.

to us, he himself sees these things take place in the spirit. He said that there were four angels, because this persecution will rage in the four parts of the world'. But the second part of the verse abandons both Primasius and this hint of prophetic realism: the evil spirits always hunger for the death of humankind, at every hour and in every season. The time-references have been universalized. Only the intensity of the last persecution will be distinctive: 'What do you imagine they will do when they are released, who can do so much harm now, when they are bound?' Bede says, paraphrasing *The City of God* 20.8. Incidentally, this rhetorical question implies that the end-times still lie in the future, and have not yet commenced.

Bede is also cautious and low-key in his treatment of the traditional cosmic portents and natural *signa* that are supposed to inaugurate the end-times. Eclipses, comets, meteorological anomalies of various kinds, and earthquakes were perennial flashpoints for the apocalyptically minded. Attention to such portents was not unique to Christians – indeed, many of the fathers associated it with paganism and condemned it accordingly. Orosius, for example, loads the first six books of his universal history with portents of disaster to prove how bad life in Rome was before Christ. After the birth of Christ, portents disappear, though it is telling that he expects them to resume 'in those distant last days at the end of the world and the advent of the Antichrist'.[191] The difference, according to Orosius, will be that the troubles at the end of time will be, as Christ prophesied, unlike anything ever seen before. Bede was well aware (through Isidore of Seville) that the images of cosmic catastrophe in Revelation were an especially potent ferment in susceptible minds. In his *On the Nature of Things* (composed probably at the same time as the *Commentary on Revelation*) Bede treats earthquakes, pestilence, comets and eclipses as either purely natural events or at most moral wake-up calls. In his corpus as a whole, Bede shows at most episodic interest in natural phenomena as signs of impending judgement, especially when compared with his most venerated Father, Gregory. The exception, of course, is his poem *On Judgement Day* (*De die iudicii*), but in a sense it is the exception which proves the rule, because the Last Judgement plays a very incidental role in Revelation.[192]

191 *semotis illis diebus nouissimis sub fine saeculi et sub apparitione Antichristi*: 1, *prol.* 15, ed. C. Zangemeister, CSEL 5 (1882) 5.3-5: the translation is by Burgess, 'Hydatius and the Final Frontier', p. 327.

192 Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 97–103 (on signs and portents), 162–63 (on how Bede edits passages from Gregory to take off the apocalyptic edge) and 103 (on *De die iudicii*). On the links between Bede's science and his exegesis, see above, p. 43.

In the *Commentary on Revelation*, virtually every reference to cosmic and natural catastrophe is allegorized. The opening of the sixth seal (Rev. 6:12-17) unleashes an earthquake, after which the sun turns black, the moon turns to blood, the stars fall from heaven, and the mountains collapse. For Bede, none of this is about the material world, but about the final persecution. No ordinary earthquake could possibly be identified with the opening of the sixth seal, because ordinary earthquakes are local, while this earthquake is said to affect the whole world. Tellingly, Bede regards the literal reading (*iuxta litteram*) of the earthquake as a reference to the day of judgement (exegesis of Rev. 6:17). The terrors that accompany the trumpets (8: 5-13) and the vials of plagues (16:2-12), the lightning-flashes, voices, thunders and earthquakes of Rev. 16:18 are, in Bede's view, genuine signs that will take place in the last days, though their import will be ambiguous.

In Revelation, the earth is not engulfed with fire at the Judgement, nor does fire serve a purgatorial purpose or as a means to separate the just from the reprobate. These themes, culled from other apocalyptic references in the Bible, take up much space in ch. 70 of *The Reckoning of Time*, *De die iudicii* and in the commentary on 2 Peter, but in the *Commentary on Revelation* literal fire only appears as the punishment of the devil and his associates, and also the damned in general (20:15). Fire also appears in 16:8-9 in the context of the emptying of the fourth vial, but this is interpreted allegorically, and distinguished from the fire into which the condemned are hurled after the Last Judgement. However, Bede works the idea of fire into his interpretation of 21:1. The appearance of the 'new heaven and the new earth' demands an explanation for the disappearance of the first heaven and the first earth, something which the Biblical text does not discuss. Quoting Primasius *verbatim* Bede concludes that they must have been destroyed by fire, which would also plausibly explain why there was 'no more sea'. Given the interest in the effects of eschatological fire on the physical fabric of the universe that Bede will later express in ch. 70 of *Reckoning of Time* and elsewhere, he is notably silent on the subject here. To be sure, the text he was commenting on did not give him much encouragement to dilate on this theme, but neither did Bede see fit to introduce it.

However, the more original element of Bede's solution to the problem of Revelation was not to avoid the prophetic potential of the text, but to re-orient it. In so doing, Bede closed the door to using Revelation as a cypher for any and every current crisis. Instead, he made the text point to a specific future scenario, one essentially endorsed by the Fathers, but not systematically deployed by any previous commentator as the key to Revelation. The

inspiration seems to have come from two works by Augustine with which Bede was certainly very familiar, since he uses them both in the *Letter to Plegwin*, composed about five years after the *Commentary on Revelation*. These are Augustine's letter 197 to Hesychius, and book 20 of *The City of God.* The letter to Hesychius explains Augustine's scruples about speculating about the *deadline* of the end; *The City of God* 20.30 expresses his confidence that the *timeline* can be clearly established.

> At that [last] judgment, or near the time of that judgment, we have learned that the following things will come to pass: Elijah the Tishbite will come; the Jews will believe; Antichrist will persecute; Christ will judge; the dead will rise; the good will be separated from the wicked; the world will be destroyed by fire and renewed. We must believe that all these things will come to pass. But how and in what order they are to do so we shall learn by experience of the events themselves when the time comes. This is something that, at the present time, the human intellect cannot manage to teach us. My own belief, however, is that they will happen in the order in which I have here stated them.[193]

These episodes constitute what could be called a 'preconditions narrative' of eschatology, one that solidified the shape of the end-times, and hedged its terrors behind events which had evidently not yet taken place. While Bede maps all of these episodes across Revelation, he places exceptional emphasis on the conversion of the Jews and the rise and fall of Antichrist, while adding some original details concerning Elijah. It was these events alone that would signal the end-times.

Bede presents his new scenario with considerable ingenuity and insistence. For example, in interpreting the prophecy to the church in Philadelphia (Rev. 3:10) he begins with a moral reading (Christ will defend those who imitate him in adversity), and then shifts to Primasius's ecclesiological interpretation (the Church has always been subjected to adversity, and will be even more afflicted in the time of Antichrist). He then slips the conversion of the Jews into a crack in Primasius's text, and seizes his opportunity to dilate on that future conversion. It should be noted that Philadelphia is the only church whose message is expanded, and Philadelphia is in the crucial sixth position in the sequence of the Seven Churches.

Another way in which Bede advances his new scenario is by interpreting the repeated sevens (seals, trumpets, plagues and so forth) in a way that subtly turns the sequence into a unified plot-line that inexorably points towards Antichrist. His exposition of the seven seals is an epitome of the history of the Church from its primitive glory through to the time of

193 *The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. Dyson, pp. 1042–1043.

Antichrist and the beginning of eternal rest. In the exegesis of 8:2, the first trumpet announces, in fact, the last event in time: the ultimate destruction of the wicked. The second alludes to Christ's persistent protection of his church from the Devil; the third and fourth, to the perennial assaults of heretics and false brethren. But from the fifth trumpet onwards, the series becomes a sequential narrative, focused on the prelude to Antichrist, his appearance, and his final defeat.When dealing with a cognate interpretation of the seven seals, Bede begins with Primasius's ecclesiological reading, but then enumerates the seals themselves as a digest of the history of the church, culminating once again in the conflict with and triumph over Antichrist.

The particular advantage of a narrative 'history of the future' is that these are unique events, not generic occurrences that could happen at any time, like earthquakes. They certainly do not seem to be happening in Bede's time. At this stage in his career at least, Bede does not notice any Jews actually converting to Christianity, nor does he expect them, as he has raised a very specific historical barrier to be overcome, namely the reappearance of Enoch and Elijah. By the time he composed his comprehensive history of the future in *The Reckoning of Time*, Bede had advanced the two witnesses of Rev. 11:3 to the ranks of major actors in the apocalyptic drama.[194] They are clearly identified as Enoch and Elijah, and their role is to prepare the faithful for the coming persecution under Antichrist, following the conversion of the Jews (*DTR* 69). By contrast, the *Commentary on Revelation* recounts the entire episode of the two witnesses in more muted and symbolic terms. In his exegesis of Rev. 11:13-14, Bede does identify the two witnesses as Enoch and Elijah, but he does not indicate that their activity is primarily directed to converting the Jews. He seems to have envisaged the conversion of the Jews as taking place through some intervention of Elijah not recorded in Revelation, but linked to the persecution of Antichrist.[195] Moreover, it is unclear why Enoch is specifically introduced as Elijah's partner. Nonetheless, the equation of the two witnesses with Enoch and Elijah seems to be Bede's original contribution to the exegetical tradition of Revelation.[196] He is coy

194 In his later exegesis, he would always pair Elijah with Enoch: Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, p. 216.

195 Cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.29, where Elijah alone converts Jews. Bede's understanding of the role of the two witnesses seems to be just coming into focus at this stage: Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 111–13.

196 There is a patristic pedigree for the idea, though it had hitherto not appeared in a Revelation commentary: see Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 109 *sqq.* It will enjoy a long afterlife, thanks to its incorporation into Adso's *De ortu et tempore Antichrist*: Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 41, 97–98.

about where he got the idea, ascribing it to *quidam* – certainly a signal that he is stepping out of the stream of interpretation carved out by his sources. Gryson notes that the passage has no traceable source, but is composed in a style which echoes that of Primasius, as if Bede were (consciously or unconsciously) trying to father the idea on his sources.[197] However, Luciana Cuppo Csaki has drawn attention to an anonymous 6th-century text from Vivarium on the Two Witnesses whose wording matches Bede's exactly. This text is both obscure and anonymous, which explains Bede's *quidam*. Bede evidently thought that the question of the identity of the Two Witnesses was an important one – one that was worth the risk of citing a nameless source.[198]

The conversion of the Jews is an important theme in the *Commentary on Revelation* and will remain so throughout Bede's life. It surfaces as early as the commentary on Acts, where the election of Matthias to replace Judas symbolizes the reintegration of the Jews at the end of the world, and again in the commentary on 1 Samuel, the books on the Tabernacle and the Temple, and the commentary on Tobit.[199] In the Revelation commentary, Bede's eschatological expectation that Jews and Christians would one day form a single people of God affected the way in which he used his sources. He twice omitted passages from Primasius which disparage the Jews. Commenting on Rev. 1:7, Primasius identified those who pierced Christ and 'all the tribes of the earth and particularly the Jews who accounted him as nothing (Omnes etiam terreni uel omnes generaliter mali, maxime Iudaei qui eum ut minimum putauere negandum…)'.[200] Bede picked up Primasius after 'qui eum', omitting the reference to the Jews. Commenting on Rev. 2:9, Primasius says that the term 'Jew' can apply both to literal Jews outside the Church and to false Christians within it. Bede dropped this passage, as well as Primasius's remark that Smyrna was not the only place where there are or were 'blaspheming Jews'; he reconnected with Primasius's text at the point where Primasius allegorizes 'Jew' as a religious term. On the other hand, Bede reproduced Jerome's stinging words about the lack of belief of the Jews in his exegesis of Rev. 13:7, so one can hardly claim that he was following a consistent policy. Possibly Bede's editing out of the Jews from Primasius's explanation of 1:7 reflects the fact that the passage is referring to the Second Coming, at which point the Jews would

197 Gryson ed., p. 378.
198 See p. 186, n. 537.
199 Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 176–197.
200 Primasius 1.94-97.

have been converted, but this must remain only a suggestion.[201]

Much more prominent and fully developed is the role Bede assigns to Antichrist.[202] Bede adds little to the legendary biography of Antichrist, but notes that he will be a descendant of the tribe of Dan, which is why Dan is omitted in the list of tribes in Revelation 7:5-8. He explains the ten horns of the beast (Rev. 17:12) by invoking the legend that Antichrist will be a ruler, born in Babylon, who will subdue ten kings. Bede's real innovation, however, was to insert Antichrist prominently, even insistently, into Revelation, often on his own initiative, and often departing from the paths trodden by his sources.[203] That he is breaking new ground here is evident in his vacillations over the details of this biography. For example, he is not certain whether the miracles performed by Antichrist are indeed miracles. Bede acknowledges that even the Devil can perform wonders, but is Antichrist a devil? The *Commentary on Mark* 4 (599–600) and *Commentary on 1 Samuel* 4 (242) depict Antichrist as the son of a devil, one of the fallen angels, which would account for his powers, but Bede seems to pull back from this position in the *Commentary on Luke* 6 (lines 1431–1433) when he avers that this is to be interpreted metaphorically.[204] Indeed in expounding Rev. 13:18, Bede (echoing Jerome) is at pains to *differentiate* between Antichrist and Satan.[205] Antichrist's overthrow is also not yet fully worked out in Bede's mind in *Commentary on Revelation*; he has not decided, for example, whether Antichrist will be destroyed by the archangel Michael or by Christ himself, a scenario intimated in 2 Thess. 2:8.[206]

201 Bede's ambivalence towards the Jews: A.P. Sheil, *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), chs. 1–2; Thacker, 'Bede and the Ordering of Understanding', pp. 55–57; Kendall, *Bede: On Genesis*, Introduction, pp. 22–27. Residual Pelagianism in the Insular milieu encouraged fascination with and reverence towards Jewish law and tradition, at least as recorded in the Old Testament: see Herren and Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity*, pp. 109–114.

202 Bede does not appear at all in McGinn's *Antichrist* save as a footnote (p. 304, n. 23) to a general comment that early medieval exegesis eschewed historical speculation about Antichrist in favour of moral commentary.

203 Matter, 'Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages', p. 36. Bede may have been inspired by Gregory, whose attention to Antichrist is quite exceptional amongst the Fathers: Markus, '*Haec non longe sunt*'.

204 McCready, *Miracles*, pp. 134–139.

205 Cf. McGinn, *Antichrist*, p. 74.

206 Gregory shared this uncertainty: *Mor.* 34.3.7 echoes 2 Thess. 2:8 that it will be Christ, but *Hom. in Ev.* 2.34.9 says that it will be Michael: McGinn, *Antichrist*, p. 82; cf. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 118–21.

Notwithstanding, Bede relentlessly intrudes Antichrist everywhere in the text of Revelation. In his exposition of Rev. 6:12, he interjects Antichrist into the text of Primasius. At 7:14, and on his own initiative, he identifies 'the great tribulation' with the persecution launched by Antichrist, while at 9:13 he introduces further references to Antichrist which are not in his sources. Unlike any of his predecessors, Bede identifies the forty-two months of Rev. 11:2 as the time of Antichrist. He is drawing on Primasius here, but Primasius is in fact saying something rather different. Primasius speaks of an alliance of Jews, heretics and gentiles, but more importantly, he expressly denies that the number of months refers to the final persecution; it is, rather, a trope for the whole span of Christian history. Bede regards the time period as referring to both the whole of Christian history and the future time, not of generic persecution, but of Antichrist. This is a classic 'Tyconian' manoeuvre, but with a difference: the future is included within time – it has a history, and that history is the story of Antichrist. In *The Reckoning of Time* ch. 69, Bede would fully integrate Antichrist's 'time' into this history of the future. This chapter held a special fascination for medieval readers, and circulated as an independent tract.[207]

Yet while the career of Antichrist has a time-line, its starting-point is explicitly unscheduled. Bede's sources identified the second Beast, whose name is the number 666, with Antichrist, and Bede himself duly records various efforts to decode his name by *gematria* – a form of cryptography or divination which assigns numerical values to the letters of the alphabet, so that a name can be represented by a number that is the sum of the values for the letters composing the name. However, he finds them all unpersuasive: why should one so greedy for worship choose such limiting names? The threefold six must refer to totality of time, past, present and future. In his 1966 Jarrow Lecture, Gerald Bonner drew attention to the originality of these final remarks.[208] They certainly demonstrate how closely connected the two parts of Bede's strategy were, for in effect he has applied Tyconius's rule of legitimate numbers here to leave Antichrist firmly in a future that is real, but not reducible to anyone's name or available to any speculation about dates. It is surely significant that Bede edited the lemma of Rev. 13:18 to remove the invitation to calculate the Beast's name from his number.

207 D. Verhelst, 'Le préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antichrist', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médievale* 40 (1973): 84 n. 172.

208 *Saint Bede*, p. 13.

4.5 Judgement and Reform

Nested within Bede's larger exegetical concerns are a number of themes which play a significant, if less consistent and coherent role. The subordinate status of some of these themes is dictated by the text of Revelation itself: the Last Judgement, for example, occupies only a few verses, but its importance for Bede was enormous. Other themes, like the role of *doctores* ('teachers') and *praedicatores* ('preachers'), were thrust into Bede's hands by his sources, but he manipulated them in a distinctive way.

While it was not Bede's primary aim in the *Commentary on Revelation* to produce a synthetic picture of the end-times, he neither could nor wished to evade opportunities to link the text of John's vision to other chapters of the story of the end-times found elsewhere in Scripture. Sometimes the effort seems to be a strain. The 'rapture' of the saints into the air to meet the returning Christ, described in 1 Thess. 4:16, is not in Revelation, but Bede, following Tyconius, managed to find a small niche for it in his exegesis of 11:12, 'and they went up to heaven in a cloud'.[209] A few verses later (11:18) we find him labouring to coordinate the prophecy of John with the scenario of the Little Apocalypse in Matt. 25, and even with Christ's farewell discourse in John 14:2.

By contrast, Bede found it easy and natural to stretch the theme of the Last Judgement across the whole text of Revelation. Though the Judgement proper occupies only Rev. 20:11-14, it is the climax of the book – the definitive end of history and the ultimate victory of good over evil.[210] Hence Bede, in common with many of his sources, scattered numerous references to the Judgement throughout his exegesis, beginning with the vision of the Son of Man. The two-edged sword coming from his mouth, and his face, shining like the sun, project forward to the Judgement (Rev. 1:16; cf. 2:12). Indeed, the saints and the Church pray for the Day of Judgement to come (Rev. 6:10). The broadening of the resonance of the Last Judgement is also reflected in Bede's summary of the cycle of illustrations of Revelation in Wearmouth abbey church. In this respect, Bede is participating in a much broader theological, exegetical, artistic and ascetic process within the western Church that equated the eschaton with Doomsday. The Cross in particular assumed a new importance as the sign of the returning Christ

209 In other works, Bede locates the Last Judgement in the air, e.g. Chad's sermon in *HE* 4.3; see Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 128–29.

210 On the importance of the Last Judgement in Bede's thinking, see Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, ch. 5, pp. 125–33.

that would appear in heaven (Matt. 24.30), a motif Bede introduces in his exegesis of Rev. 7:2-3.[211]

What is notably absent from the *Commentary on Revelation* is any displacement of judgement to the immediate aftermath of the death of the individual. This was a venerable theme in Christian literature; indeed, it is the assumption behind the type of apocalypse that describes a journey through or vision of the cosmos, and especially of the state of the dead.[212] Bede was certainly well acquainted with this tradition. In the final book of *HE*, there are three connected visions of the 'last things', but these are visions of the afterlife and of personal judgement, not of the end of time and universal judgement. Their position may not be fortuitous: as Bede reaches the end of his history, the themes of repentance and reform become more insistent. His account of Dryhthelm's vision (5.12) illustrates how Bede linked individual judgement after death with the Last Judgement. The antechamber of hell – a place of simultaneous fire and ice – is for those who died repentant, but with no time to emend their lives. They will enter heaven after the Last Judgement. The antechamber of heaven is inhabited by people who look like the redeemed in Revelation; they wear white robes, and dwell in a supernatural city filled with light and exquisite perfume. Yet the angelic guide clearly states that this is only the temporary dwelling of those who did good deeds; they did not achieve a sufficient degree of perfection to enter Heaven (*regnum caelorum*) immediately, but would do so after the Last Judgement. By implication, both the definitively damned and the definitively saved have already been judged; in contrast, in his commentary on Rev. 20:13, Bede states that all the dead will be summoned to judgement. Bede follows up the vision of Dryhthelm with the vision of the mortally ill Mercian thegn (5:13). In his agony, he sees two handsome young men by his bedside, each with a book: a tiny but beautiful volume inscribed with a few good deeds, and a huge tome filled with his sins. Demons appear and claim the thegn's soul, which the angels concede belongs to them. In short, the thegn has been judged and damned. Again, though Bede does not draw the comparison, the two books clearly allude to the Last Judgement scene in Rev. 20:12-13. In his exegesis, Bede cites Gregory the Great's view that the

211 McGinn, 'The End of the World', pp. 72–75. See above, p. 5.

212 Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie*, pp. 70–74; John J. Collins, 'From Prophecy to Apocalypticism: The Expectation of the End', *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*, pp. 64–88. On the early medieval development of this style of apocalyptic and its particular appeal to monks, see Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', pp. 244–246.

books are records of the deeds of the righteous and the reprobate, considered as two categories of people; in the *HE*, they have been interiorized in the individual. Bede's remarkable poem *On Judgement Day* not only contracts the end of the world to the Judgement, but also lays its stress on the fate of the individual sinner. Bede's final composition, his 'Death Song', also emphasizes imminent and individual judgement:

> Before the journey that awaits us all,
> No man becomes so wise that he has not
> Need to think out, before his going hence,
> What judgment will be given to his soul
> After his death, of evil or of good.[213]

By contrast, the Revelation commentary does not use the judgement scene in ch. 20 as an opportunity for moral exhortation, whether to steadfastness and detachment (as in the epilogue of *On Judgement Day*) or to repentence (as in the letter of Ecgbert). However, it is eloquent on the importance of teachers (*doctores*) and preachers (*praedicatores*). These terms derive from Tyconius, who juxtaposes these worthy guides to the heretics and false brethren who mislead the faithful. Bede refers to the latter in his commentary on Rev. 2:13 as 'teachers who lead astray' (*seductores…doctores*; cf. the *mali doctores* of 9:7 and the *falsi doctores* of 9:19). Revelation, on the other hand, is written primarily for the benefit of *praedicatores* (Rev. 1:1) who are the 'eyes of the Lord' (1:14). For Bede, the titles *doctor* and *praedicator* carried a special, positive resonance. Teachers and preachers are first and foremost clergy, and his lifelong concern was to instil a distinctive ethos and educational tradition into the English clergy.[214] The clergy as a whole were to instruct the people of God in the true faith, identify and uproot heresy, correct morals, and show a shining example by their zeal and purity of life. They were, in sum, agents of reform. This broadly practical focus permeates Bede's exegesis, and is one of its most distinctive and original qualities. It influenced the topics he wrote on and the way he wrote about them. But the *doctores* and *praedicatores* also carried out complementary tasks. The *doctores* constituted a distinct group within the church whose mission was, through religious learning and contemplation, to inspire, instruct and energize the preachers. These men

213 Trans. R. Hamer, *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), pp. 126–127; for original see C. Plummer, *Baedae opera historica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), vol. 1, p. clxi.

214 Henry M.R.E. Mayr-Harting, *The Venerable Bede, the Rule of St Benedict, and Social Class*, Jarrow Lecture, 1976; on the significance of these terms in Bede's exegesis, see Holder, 'Bede and the New Testament', pp. 151–152.

– like Bede's heroes, the peripatetic preacher-monks Aidan and Cuthbert – would spread the saving word to the people. Moreover, Bede seems to have seen his own role as that of a *doctor*. This played a critical role in how he understood his relationship to the Fathers, as a colleague and continuator.[215] It also perhaps inclined him to soften somewhat the Tyconian notion, echoed in Primasius, of internecine conflict (*bellum intestinum*) within the Church, pitting the true Christians against hypocrites (cf. exegesis of Rev. 3:10).

The high calling of the *doctor* is the theme of many original passages in the *Commentary on Revelation.* The voices of the four Living Creatures around the throne (Rev. 5:11) are those of teachers who both proclaim the truth and set the people an example of worship. Teachers are likened to the Patriarchs in the peroration of the sermon on the signing of the Twelve Tribes (Rev. 7:5-8). Teaching about the last things – what Bede himself is doing in this commentary – is singled out for special attention. The eagle who announces 'Woe!' (Rev. 8:13) stands for 'eminent teachers in the Church, when they preach the wickedness of the heretics, the ferocity of Antichrist, and the Day of Judgement which with all severity is to come to those who love the earth'. The angel who lights up the earth with his glory (Rev. 18:1) is an image of both Christ himself and the doctors of the Church who proclaim the fall of the world. Finally, the twelve angels at the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 21:12) are '[t]he teachers [*doctores*]: that is, those who follow the footsteps of the apostles [*apostolorum uestigia…sequentes*] in the mystery of faith and the word'. Here is Bede's 'signature phrase' for his own life-work, which he repeatedly, if ambiguously, characterized as *patrum uestigia sequens* – 'following in the footsteps of the Fathers'. It is telling that the passage of the *Commentary on Revelation* that contains this echo has no patristic source, but is Bede's original contribution.[216]

215 Alan Thacker, 'Bede and the Ordering of Understanding', pp. 43–45, and 'Bede's Ideal of Reform', *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to John Michael Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 130–153. On the pastoral function of exegesis for Bede, see Arthur G. Holder, 'Bede and the Tradition of Patristic Exegesis', *Anglican Theological Review* 72 (1990): 399–411. Bede's conception of reform: Scott DeGregorio, '*Nostrorum socordiam temporum*: The Reforming Impulse of Bede's Later Exegesis', *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002): 107–122, 'Bede's *In Ezram et Neemiam* and the Reform of the Northumbrian Church', *Speculum* 79 (2004): 1–25, 'Bede's *In Ezram et Neemiam*: A Document in Church Reform', *Bède le Vénérable et la posterité*, pp. 97–107. Bede and monk-preachers: Bonner, 'Bede: Scholar and Spiritual Teacher', pp. 365–370.

216 This echoes Roger Ray's understanding of the phrase: 'Who Did Bede Think He Was?', pp. 11–19. It can be found in *In Sam.* 1 (10.52-54), *In Regum* prol. (293.22-30), *In Cant. Cant.*

5. BEDE'S COMMENTARY ON REVELATION: TRANSMISSION AND TRANSLATION

5.1 Transmission in Manuscript

Bede's commentary enjoyed greater popularity and wider diffusion than any other pre-Carolingian exegesis of Revelation. It was just the right length – neither as telegraphic as Cassiodorus or the pseudo-Jerome's *Commemoratorium*, nor as prolix as Ambrosius Autpertus or Beatus. It also won approval for digesting the tradition in a balanced and careful manner.[217] In consequence, it now survives in 113 manuscripts of which 84 contain the full text; the remainder are mutilated or fragmentary, or else contain excerpts or abbreviations. The definitive survey of the manuscript tradition is Roger Gryson's inventory in the opening chapter of the introduction to his critical edition of the *Commentary*. In his statistical overview of Bede manuscripts, Joshua Westgard admits 96 witnesses; this makes the *Commentary on Revelation* the fifth most frequently copied of Bede's works. In Westgard's analysis, 28.5 manuscripts date from the eighth or ninth centuries, 7.5 from the tenth, 16.5 from the eleventh, 21.5 from the twelfth, 2.5 from the thirteenth, 4.5 from the fourteenth, and 15 from the fifteenth century or later. The fraction .5 indicates composite manuscripts or those dated across a century divide.[218]

The text conveyed in these manuscripts can be divided into four main families, one Insular and three continental.[219] All derive from a single archetype which, in Gryson's judgement, could not have been Bede's autograph. At least four generations of the text preceded the oldest surviving copy. There are no surviving eighth- or ninth-century Insular exemplars apart from the fragment Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10400 fols. 107–108 (Gryson's *siglum x*), nor any continental pre-Carolingian copies. However, the pre-Viking period Insular lineage (Gryson's text family δ) is represented by two survivors: Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek theol. 2° 25, Fulda s. IX$^{2/4}$ (Gryson's *siglum K*) and Durham, Cathedral Library A IV 28, Durham s. XI (*D*). The three Continental families are descended from lost Carolingian archetypes. These come from (1) n. France, perhaps Saint-Amand, but with progeny in Salzburg and Reichenau (family α), (2) Tours, from an archetype which may have arrived with Alcuin (family β), and (3) the

prol (180.501-504), *Exp. Act.* praef. 3.9-10, *Hom.* 2.11 (258.191-192 and *DTR* 5 (287.86).

217 Gryson, Tyc. ed. Introduction, p. 63.

218 Joshua Westgard, 'Bede in the Carolingian Age and Beyond', *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 211.

219 What follows summarizes Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, ch. 2 'Histoire du texte'.

Lake Constance region (family γ, the most widely dispersed family, with the largest number of surviving witnesses). One manuscript seems to belong to no known family: Erfurt, Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek CA 4° 96, *c*. 800 (Gryson's *siglum P*).

The *Commentary on Revelation* sometimes circulated on its own, or in heterogeneous miscellanies. But for the most part, it is found in two kinds of composite manuscripts. The first species is centred on the Scriptural triad Acts–Catholic Epistles–Revelation. In numerous manuscripts, our *Commentary* accompanies Bede's commentaries on Acts and/or the Catholic Epistles, often copied as a block. Occasionally, Bede's commentary on Mark is added; other fellow-travellers can include one or more of Bede's Wisdom books commentaries (Proverbs, Song of Solomon), or his expositions of the Tabernacle and the Temple (see Table 2). A variant version of this configuration juxtaposes Bede's commentary to the text of Revelation itself (Cologne, Stadtarchiv GB 4° 147, *c*. 1445 [Gryson no. 46]; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 317, s. X [Gryson no. 69] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 21, s. XI ex./XII in. [Gryson no. 100]) , or the text of the Acts–Catholic Epistles–Revelation block (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Hamilton 88, s. XV$^{1/2}$ [12]; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 176, s. X [29]).

The second type of manuscript setting places the *Commentary on Revelation* in the company of other exegetical works on Revelation, both pre-Bedan (Victorinus/Jerome, Caesarius, ps.-Jerome *Commemoratorium*) and post-Bedan (Ambrosius Autpertus, Haymo of Auxerre). In Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Voss. lat. F. 70 I. B (s. X, n. France [Gryson no. 48]), Bede is excerpted, along with other commentaries, to form a composite gloss on Revelation. In a similar fashion, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka I F 46 (s. XV$^{1/2}$ [Gryson no. 110]) interlards extracts from Bede's commentary with that of ps-Jerome. Conversely, some virtually self-contained elements of the *Commentary*, and particularly the exposition of the twelve precious stones, could be hived off as tracts: examples include Bern, Burgerbibliothek A 91 no. 11 (s. XIII; Gryson no. 16), Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 3852 (*c*. 804, Lyon; Gryson no. 106) and Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Car. C 176 (s. X/XI; Gryson no. 113). This section of the *Commentary* was reworked as a self-contained essay entitled *Diversitates duodecim lapidum* (*Distinctions of the Twelve Stones*).[220] It is also

220 Edited and discussed by Christel Meier, 'Zur Quellenfrage des "Himmlischen Jerusalem": ein neuer Fund', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 104 (1975): 204–43. This text survives in two versions in Orléans Bibliothèque municipale 343 (s. X) and Bern, Burgerbibliothek A.92.27.

Table 2: The *Commentary on Revelation* accompanies other works by Bede (shelf-marks are followed by numbers in Gryson's inventory)

Shelf-mark	Date	*Comm. Acts*	*Comm. Cath. Ep.*	*Comm. Mark*	*De tab/ + De templ.*	*Comm. Prov.*	*Comm. Cant.*	*De loc. sanctis*	*Quest. Kings*	*Comm. Tobit*	*Octo quaest*
Admont, Stiftsbibliothek 246 [2]	s. XII	x									
Altenburg, Stiftsbibliothek AB 14 D 15 [4]	s. XII^{2}		x								
Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 728 [5]	s. IX$^{1/4}$	x									
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Phillipps 1664 [13]	*ante* 1034	x									
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz theol. lat. 329 [14]	1515		x								
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz theol. fol. 361 [15]	s. X	x									
Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek Historisch Fonds 77 [17]		x	x					x			
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale 5543–45 [18]	s. XI	x		x							
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale II 1062 [19]	s. XIII in.				x						
Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale 164 [22]	s. XII	x				x					
Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek B 20 [25]	s. XV ex.	x		x							
Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek B 22 [26]	s. XV	x	x								

Shelf-mark	Date	*Comm. Acts*	*Comm. Cath. Ep.*	*Comm. Mark*	*De tab/ + De templ.*	*Comm. Prov.*	*Comm. Cant.*	*De loc. sanctis*	*Quest. Kings*	*Comm. Tobit*	*Octo quaest*
Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek B 73 [27]	1439	x									
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana plut. 16.7 [31]	ca 1490	x	x								
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana plut. 16.9 [32]	ca 1490	x	x		x						
Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire lat. 21 [34]	s.IX$^{1/3}$	x	x								
Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 240 [35]	s. IX in.								x		
Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 387 [37]	s.XII		x							x	
Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek 52 [38]	s. XII/XIII		x								
Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. XLIII [39]	s.IX$^{1/4}$	x	x								
Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. CXXXV [40]	s. IX$^{2/3}$	x									
Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. CLIII [41]	*c.* 900	x	x								
Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université 73 [50]	s. XII	x	x	x							
Manchester, John Rylands Library 107 [52]	s. XII	x	x								
Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 38 [55]	s. XI in.	x									
Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 81 [62]	s. IX ex.	x									

Shelf-mark	Date	*Comm. Acts*	*Comm. Cath. Ep.*	*Comm. Mark*	*De tab/ + De templ.*	*Comm. Prov.*	*Comm. Cant.*	*De loc. sanctis*	*Quest. Kings*	*Comm. Tobit*	*Octo quaest*
Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. patr. lat. 222 [63]	s. XI in.	x									
Oxford, Jesus College 65 [64]	s. XII med.	x									
Oxford, Jesus College 68 [65]	s. XII med.	x									
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 316 [67]	s. XII med.					x	x				
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 691 [68]	s. XII$^{2/2}$	x									
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 317 [69]	s. X					x					
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2360 [70]	s. XII$^{2/2}$	x	x								
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2361 [71]	s. XII$^{2/2}$	x	x								
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12284 [76]	s. IX in.	x									
Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 6 [78]	*c.* 972–985	x	x								
Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 1347 [79]	s. IX in.		x								
Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana E. 60 [81]	s. XI in.	x				x	x				
Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale 449 (A. 343) [82]	s. XII				x						

Shelf-mark	Date	*Comm. Acts*	*Comm. Cath. Ep.*	*Comm. Mark*	*De tab/ + De templ.*	*Comm. Prov.*	*Comm. Cant.*	*De loc. sanctis*	*Quest. Kings*	*Comm. Tobit*	*Octo quaest*
Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale 532 (A. 395) [83]	s. XI	x									
St Petersburg, National Library Q.v.I.45 [84]	s. X/XI	x	x								
St Petersburg, National Library Q.v.I.216 [85]	s. XI	x	x								
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 259 [86]	s. VIII$^{3/4}$	x									
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 260 [87]	s.IX$^{3/3}$	x									
Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB VII 40 [90]	1436–37		x								
Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB VII 41 [91]	s. IX$^{2/3}$	x									
Trier, Stadtbibliothek 186/1204 4° [93]	s. XVI$^{1/2}$	x	x	x							
Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 572 [94]	s. XII$^{2/2}$	x	x								
Utrecht, Biblioteek der Rijksuniversiteit 77 [95]	1464	x	x		x						x
Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 52 [96]	s. XII	x	x					x			
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 581 [97]	s. I med.		x								
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Urb. lat. 101 [103]	1470–1480s	x	x	x							
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 934 [107]	s. IX in.	x									

the basis of a tenth-century hymn, *Cives celestis patriae* (*Citizens of the heavenly homeland*), possibly composed in England.[221]

It is not yet possible to sketch a full picture of the reception of Bede's commentary in later exegesis, pastoral and ascetic literature, and art. The appearance of Gryson's critical edition will hopefully make this possible. The shape of the manuscript record nonetheless suggests some plausible lines of inquiry. The *Commentary* was 'packaged' both as part of a coherent suite of Bede's exegetical works on the last segment of the New Testament, and as part of a dossier of commentaries on Revelation. Its popularity ascended steadily to the twelfth century, the time of the formation of what would become the *Glossa ordinaria*,[222] dipped during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and revived in the fifteenth, when it was copied for the Medicis in Florence (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana plut. 16.7 and 16.9; Gryson 31–32) and for Federico da Montefeltro in Urbino (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Urb. lat. 101; Gryson no. 103), but also by Carthusians in Utrecht (Utrecht, Biblioteek der Rijksuniversiteit 77; Gryson no. 95). Indeed, the late medieval interest in this very conservative and patristic approach to Revelation deserves close study; it suggests that the fortunes of Bede's work may hold some surprises for the history of apocalypticism in the West.

5.2 The Commentary in Print

The *Commentary on Revelation* was printed for the first time by the Parisian humanist and printer Josse Bade (Jodocus Badius Ascensius), in the second volume, dated 1 June 1521, of a projected three-volume *opera omnia*.[223]

221 Ed. Kitson, part 2, pp. 109–123. Rabanus Maurus's *De universo* reproduces the exegesis of the twelve precious stones in the foundations of the Heavenly Jerusalem almost verbatim (PL 91.465-71): cf. Kitson, part 1, p. 22. On the influence of Bede's exegesis on the Old English Lapidary (compiled *c*. 1000), see Concetta Giliberto, 'Stone Lore in Miscellany Manuscripts: The Old English Lapidary', *Foundations of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker (Paris, Leuven, Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007), pp. 272–273.

222 See above, p. 4. On the evolution of the *Glossa* and Bede's contribution, particularly to the marginal gloss, see Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie*, pp. 25–56, esp. 31–38. Bede's influence is particularly felt on the structure of the text (cf. Bonner, *Saint Bede*, p. 14; Christe, 'Ap. IV–VII, 1', pp. 147–149), but this subject requires much more intensive research.

223 On the printing history of the *Commentary* see Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, pp. 130–132. The Bade edition is *Secundus operum venerabilis Bedae presbyteri tomus, in quo subsequentes continentur eiusdem commentarii…. In Apocalypsim B. Ioannis Apostoli…* ([Paris]: V[a]enundatur Iodoco Badio Ascensio, & Ioanni Paruo…, 1521), fols. 119vb–221vb.

Bade, originally from Ghent, was a noted man of letters with a wide circle of learned acquaintances in France and abroad; the volume of Bede containing the Revelation commentary was dedicated to John Fisher, bishop of Rochester. Bade claims to have used two manuscripts, one from Saint-Germain-des-Prés and the second from Saint-Victor; these cannot now be located, but his text in the main follows the β family. Its closest cognate is Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 316 (s. XII med.; Gryson no. 67).

The set was completed by the printing of volume 1 by Bade's successors Jean de Roigny and Michel Vascosan in 1536; this set was subsequently reprinted by de Roigny in 1544–45. The enterprising Basel printer Johannes Herwagen the younger (Hervagius) incorporated the de Roigny edition as volumes 4–6 of his eight-volume folio edition of Bede, printing the *Commentary* on cols. 1058–1138 of volume 5.[224] As is typical of the Herwagen editions, this one is replete with typographical errors, and introduces gratuitous changes, notably to the end of the text. That did not prevent it from being reprinted in Cologne in 1611, 1612 and 1688. J.A. Giles used the Herwagen text as the basis of his edition in vol. 12 (pp. 337–451) of his complete works of Bede,[225] correcting some obvious mistakes, but introducing further problems by truncating Bede's *lemmata* to a bare word or two. Migne's *Patrologia latina* 93, cols. 129–206 reproduced Giles's edition, but introduced fresh errors, including the entire loss of the final sentence.

Roger Gryson's thorough and informative edition of the *Commentary on Revelation* – the first critical edition of the entire text[226] – is the basis for this translation. References to the page numbers of this edition are supplied in bold italics, e.g. ***/519/***. The first complete rendition of the *Commentary on Revelation* into English was Edward Marshall's 1878 version, which was based on Giles's edition.[227] Marshall's work contains some helpful remarks concerning Bede's Biblical citations and explicit quotations from other authors, but it provides few source references. Marshall, like Giles,

224 *Opera Bedae venerabilis presbyteri anglosaxonis* (Basel, 1563). On Herwagen's use of the Bade edition, see Michael Gorman, 'The Canon of Bede's Works and the World of Ps.-Bede', *Revue bénédictine* 111 (2001): 404, 406–407, 436.

225 *Venerabilis Bedae Opera quae supersunt omnia, nunc primum in Anglia, ope codicem manuscriptorum editionumque optimarum. The Complete Works of the Venerable Bede in Latin* (London: Whittaker, 1843–1844).

226 Prior to the appearance of Gryson's edition, the preface was critically edited by Thomas Mackay, 'Bede's Biblical Criticism', pp. 222–231. On previous attempts to edit the full *Commentary*, see Gryson, 'Commentaires [part 2]', p. 486.

227 *The Explanation of the Apocalypse by Venerable Beda* (Oxford and London: James Parker, 1879).

does not reproduce the Biblical lemmata in full, but only the single word or phrase on which he considers Bede to be actually commenting. His translation occasionally omits sections of Bede's text, without explanation.

Excerpts from the *Commentary* have been translated by William C. Weinrich for volume 12 (*Revelation*) of the *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005). In the autumn of 2011, as the present translation was in its final stage of preparation, Weinrich's full translation of the *Commentary* appeared as part of *Latin Commentaries on Revelation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2011). I have not been able to carry out a detailed comparison of our two translations. The orientation of its introduction and the scope and contents of the notes indicate that Weinrich's translation is intended for clergy or students of theology. My translation was prepared with the needs and interests of historians in mind. In the house of Bede scholarship there are many mansions, and the presence of two interpretations of this fundamental commentary, from two different perspectives, can only enrich our knowledge of our author's mind, and his world.

5.3 Principles Governing the Present Translation

The linguistic problems facing the translator of the *Commentary on Revelation* are not especially daunting, and the specialized terminology (*periocha*, *discessio* etc.) has been addressed above. Some remarks on the treatment of Bede's Biblical citations and his sources are, however, in order.

The lemmata cited by Bede are printed in bold capitals, and identified by the conventional Biblical chapter and verse numbering. Biblical chapter and verse numbers are used for references in the notes and indexes. The portions of the Biblical text omitted by Bede have been included, but in lower case and enclosed in square brackets. This will not only assist the modern reader to grasp the whole structure of the Revelation narrative, but will also reveal those parts of the text which Bede chose not to expound.

Bede's text of the Bible is Jerome's Vulgate, except for the Psalms, where he used the Gallican version, i.e. Jerome's revision of the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew. Where Bede's own Biblical text, as found in the manuscripts, departs from the conventional Vulgate text, I have noted this. The translation of Biblical citations is broadly based on Bishop Challoner's edition of the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1956), but with numerous silent modifications to bring it into line with Bede's text, to modernize the diction and word order, and to clarify

the meaning. I have also adopted the more familiar Authorized Version form of Hebrew names (e.g. Jeremiah rather than Jeremias) and the titles of books of the Bible (e.g. Chronicles rather than Paralipomenon). There are two exceptions: the books of Kings in the Old Testament are identified by both the Vulgate and the Authorized Version numbering, e.g. '1 Kings/1 Samuel 2.3'. I have also adopted the Authorized Version's title for the book which Bede is commenting on, i.e. 'Revelation' rather than 'The Apocalypse'. This will help to distinguish the book from the concept of 'the apocalypse'. Bible chapters and verses are numbered according to the Vulgate, with divergent Authorized Version numbering in parentheses where required.

Gryson's edition has made the task of indicating Bede's sources both easier and more difficult. Gryson furnished his edition with an exceptionally circumstantial *apparatus fontium*, in many cases actually citing the full text of the source or analogue. The notes in this translation endeavour, in the first instance, to digest Gryson's source apparatus in a manner that will make his judgements explicit for the reader, and secondly, to add supplementary, qualifying and occasionally corrective information. The references are to the editions Gryson used; a notable exception is Tyconius, since Gryson's critical edition of his commentary appeared after the publication of his edition of Bede's. Where multiple sources are listed, the first one is the source which was definitely, or most likely, the one Bede used, while the others are included as instructive parallels in the order of their resemblance to Bede. This multiplication of references is particularly needed where the source is identified as Tyconius. Since Tyconius's text has been reconstituted by comparing Bede's commentary with the Turin Fragments, the commentary of Caesarius and Beatus (who came after Bede, but who did not use his work), it is useful for the reader to be able to compare and contrast Bede's treatment of a given Tyconian passage or motif with those of these 'controls'.

It should be noted that I have sometimes parted from Gryson in the matter of Bede's sources. On rare occasions, Gryson overlooks passages in Primasius or in other sources that are reflected in Bede. Such omissions are normally flagged, lest the reader waste time trying to track the original in Gryson's apparatus. Secondly, I have silently dropped references from Gryson where, in my judgement, there is no meaningful parallel to Bede's text.

In this translation, passages where Bede's text matches its source verbatim are set in italics. Gryson's edition makes no such typographical distinction, for very sound reasons, notably Bede's often intricate manner

of weaving together phrases from his source material. Bede sometimes borrows entire sentences from his sources, sometimes merely a word or phrase. But often he compresses or recasts an idea by linking words or phrases selected from more than one source. In a translation intended as a working tool for scholars and students, however, the visual cue of italics is useful, both to alert the reader to the presence of borrowed material, and to convey the subtlety of Bede's methods of compilation.

Bede frequently refers to the author of the Revelation as 'saying' something, 'alluding', 'signifying', 'referring' and so forth. It is sometimes necessary to name this author in square brackets before the relevant verb, in order to distinguish this actor from another within the sentence. However, it is not evident who Bede himself considered to be the person speaking, referring, and so forth. In some cases, it is evidently John, but at other times it would appear to be Christ or the Spirit. As Bede points out in his exegesis of Rev. 1:1, this book is first and foremost the revelation which *Jesus* received, and only secondarily the one which John was privileged to witness. In that sense, Revelation is the only book of the Bible of which Jesus himself is the author. So when confronted with the necessity of supplying a subject in the cases mentioned above, and where it is not evident that Bede intended us to understand that John was the subject, I have used the term '[(the) Scripture]'.

BEDE
COMMENTARY ON REVELATION

/218/

THE POEM OF BEDE THE PRIEST[1]

When John, thrust out, an exile, from the world of men,
Is banned from the sight of his native soil,
He, the beloved [disciple], praising the Lord of Heaven,
Enters the King's court, and rejoices to be
In company with the choirs of the High-Enthroned.
Turning his sacred eyes to the world that lay beneath,
He saw wave-wandering wheels[2] everywhere adrift,
And Babel and Jerusalem warring in their mingled camps,
Hither and thither by turns taking to arms or to flight.
But the white-robed soldier who follows the gentle Lamb,
Will win with his Leader the heavenly kingdom;
The scaly Serpent, on the other hand, will drown
His cohorts in Tartarus by fire, famine, plague. */219/*
This conflict's form, its passion, its array,
The strategy, the soldiery, the weapons and the prizes,
I longed to tell: so, wandering where the men of old had sown,
I plucked from the sacred fields some shoots – but few,
Lest excess spoil the banqueters' appetite,
Or forbid the weaker guest from partaking.
So if my dishes are to your taste,
Give praise to God, who reigns beyond the stars.
And should they not, let him who embraces friendly feelings,
Correcting my song, erase it with merciless pumice.

1 In most MSS, the poem precedes the preface, except in MSS of the β family, where the inverse is the case. On the authenticity of the poem, see Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, pp. 166–169.

2 Gryson points to the allusion to Neptune's chariot, e.g. in Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.147, 156 (Bede ed. Introduction, p. 168).

PREFACE

/221/

Here begins the preface of Bede the priest.

The Revelation of St John, in which God has deigned to reveal in words and symbolic imagery [*figuris*] the wars and inward conflagrations of his Church,[1] seems to me, brother Eusebius, to be divided into seven sections [*periochae*].

In the first [section], after a lengthy preface[2] which describes the suffering of the Lord and his subsequent glory in order to strengthen the faith of the weak,[3] the Church beholds one clothed in the likeness of the Son of Man. Calling to mind those events which happened or are to happen to the seven Churches in Asia in particular,[4] [the Son of Man] describes the sorrows and triumphs of the whole Church at large.[5] In the sixth place, he promises that the Jews will in due time be subject to the Church, and also that a time of trial will befall the whole world, and that he will quickly come. He places 'lukewarm' Laodicea, however, in the seventh place. *And when the Son of Man comes, will he find faith on earth?*[6]

In the second section, following the description of the four animals and the twenty-four elders at the throne of God, [John] sees the Lamb, ***/223/*** when the seven seals of the sealed book have been opened, reveal the coming conflicts and victories of the Church. According to the custom of this book, he maintains a sequence up to the number six, and then passing over the seventh, he recapitulates, and concludes the two narratives, as if following in order, with the seventh. But this recapitulation must be understood in context, for sometimes he recapitulates from the origin of the suffering, sometimes

1 This phrase may echo Tyconius's lost work *De bello intestino*, mentioned in the biographical notice by Gennadius, *Liber de viris inlustribus*, ed. E.C. Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 14, 1A (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1898), p. 68: see Vercruysse, 'Bède lecteur de Tyconius', p. 20.

2 *Cf.* Bede, *Capitula lectionum* I (see Appendix).

3 *Cf.* Bede, *Capitula lectionum* II (see Appendix).

4 *Cf.* Bede, *Capitula lectionum* IV (see Appendix).

5 *Cf.* Bede, *Capitula lectionum* II (see Appendix).

6 Luke 18:8.

from the mid-point, and sometimes only from the final assault or not much before. Nonetheless he keeps to this rule of recapitulating after the sixth [point].[7]

The third section describes various events in the Church using the image [*sub specie*] of the seven angels blowing trumpets.

The fourth [section] reveals the struggles and victories of the Church in the image [*sub figura*] of the woman who gives birth and the dragon who pursues her, and considers the rewards due to both combatants. Here the statements and deeds of the seven angels are recounted, though not exactly as above. For by mystic insight he preserves this number [seven] in almost every instance, since it was not John's habit – and this applies to the Gospel and Epistles too – to speak in a lukewarm and cursory fashion.

In the fifth section, he pours the seven last plagues over the earth by the agency of the seven angels.

In the sixth, he shows the damnation of the great whore, that is, of the impious city, and in the seventh, the adornment of the bride of the Lamb, that is, holy Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God.

Also, I have thought to record in summary form *the seven rules*[8]of Tyconius, the most learned man of his people, ***/225/*** by which *the studious are greatly assisted in understanding Scripture*.[9] The first of these concerns the Lord and his Body: *when it moves from the head to the body or from the body to the head, it nonetheless does not depart from one and the same person. Speaking of one and the same person, it says, 'He has set a crown upon me as a bridegroom, and adorned me with ornaments as a bride', and nonetheless whichever of the two refers to the head and whichever to the body, that is, to Christ or to his Church, is to be understood of both in every instance.*[10]

The second concerns the two-fold [*bipartitum*] body of the Lord, or as St Augustine prefers to say, the true and feigned body of the Lord.[11] For the Church says, *'I am dusky and beautiful, as the tabernacle of Kedar and as the tent of Solomon'. She does not say 'I was dusky and I am beautiful', but she says that she is both, because of the communion of the sacraments, and because of the temporal mixture of good fish and bad within one net. For the*

7 'According … sixth [point]': *cf.* Primasius 6.299-307; Beatus 4.3.42-44; probably ultimately from Tyconius.

8 Augustine, *DDC* 3.42 (102.5).

9 Augustine, *DDC* 3.43 (103.46-47).

10 Augustine *DDC* 3.44 (104.6-11); ultimately from Tyconius *Lib. reg.* (1-8). The Biblical quotation is from Isa. 61:10 (Vetus latina).

11 *Cf.* Augustine *DDC* 3.45 (104.1-5, 7-8).

tabernacle of Kedar refers to Ishmael, and he is not to be an heir with the son of the free woman.[12]

The third is 'of promises and the law', which in another fashion can be called 'of the spirit and the letter', or 'of grace and the law'. To St Augustine this seems *a great question rather than a rule to be applied to the solution of questions. For this is what the Pelagians,* ***/227/*** *by failing to understand, fabricated or enlarged into their heresy.*[13]

The fourth is 'of species and genus'. Species is a part; genus is the whole of which it is a part, just as any city is part of a whole province, and any province of the whole world.[14] *Ordinary people understand these terms in this sense, so that even the uneducated grasp what in any given imperial edict applies generally, and what specifically. This happens also with respect to men, so that things which were said about Solomon are excessive when applied to his particular case, but they make sense when they are related to Christ and his Church, of which [He] is a part. The species is not always exceeded [by the genus]. Often things of this sort are said which apply to [the species] as well, or perhaps apply to it in the most obvious way. But the attention of the reader should keep careful watch when [Scripture] passes over from species to genus while it is still, apparently, speaking of the species.*[15]

[Tyconius] puts forth a fifth rule, which he calls 'of times'. It seems to me that it can also be called 'of numbers'. He says that this has force either *through the figure of speech called synecdoche or through 'legitimate numbers'. The figure of synecdoche is either the whole [standing] for the part or the part for the whole. Even that question concerning Christ's resurrection is solved by this mode of expression:*[16] ***/229/*** *for unless a part of the final day on which he suffered be taken for the whole day (that is joined to the previous night), and unless the night in whose last part he rose be taken as a whole day (that is, joined to the dawning Sunday), there cannot be the three days and three nights in which it was predicted he would lie in the heart of the earth.*

12 Augustine *DDC* 3.45 (105.12-20); ultimately from Tyconius *Lib. reg.* (8-11). 'I am dusky …': Song of Sol. 1:4; 'good fish and bad': Matt.13:47-48; 'for he is not to be an heir …': Gal. 4:30, *cf.* Gen. 21:10.

13 Augustine *DDC* 3.46 (105.1-2, 4-7); ultimately Tyconius *Lib. reg.* (11-13).

14 *Cf.* Augustine *DDC* 3.47 (106.1-5, 8-10, 16).

15 Augustine *DDC* 3.47-48 (107.19-28); ultimately Tyconius *Lib. reg.* (31-54).

16 Augustine *DDC* 3.50 (110.1-6; 111.15-17). In *DTR* 5, Bede explains that Christ's resurrection took place 'after three days' by synecdoche, counting part of Good Friday and part of Easter Sunday for the whole. In ch. 11 he again invokes synecdoche to explain how two lunar months from Passover to Pentecost could be counted as fifty days, though they only total forty-nine.

[Tyconius] calls 'legitimate numbers' those which divine Scripture commends especially highly, like seven or ten or twelve, by which is designated a great extent of time, or the whole of time, or the perfection of something, just as 'seven times a day will I praise thee' means nothing other than 'his praise shall always be in my mouth'. They have just as much force when multiplied by ten like seventy or seven hundred – hence the seventy years of Jeremiah can be taken spiritually as the whole of time in which the Church is amongst foreigners – or when multiplied by themselves, as ten times 10 is 100, or 12 times 12 is 144, by which number the totality of the saints in signified in the book of Revelation.[17]

Tyconius calls the sixth rule 'recapitulation'. Certain things are expressed in Scripture as if they follow one another in the order of time, or they are narrated according to the continuity of events, even though the narrative is implicitly recalling prior events which *were omitted.* For example, it says in Genesis,[18] 'These are the sons of Noah in their tribes and tongues. By these were the isles of the gentiles divided over the land' and immediately thereafter 'For the whole earth was of one tongue and speech'.[19] *It seems to say that there was one tongue for all, just as there was when [the sons of Noah] were dispersed*, when on the contrary *it implicitly adds, by way of recapitulation*, how the *tongues* [of the sons of Noah] were divided.[20] ***/231/***

The seventh rule concerns the Devil and his body. Sometimes something is said of the Devil which should not be taken to apply to the Devil himself, but rather to his body,[21] just as the Lord, explaining the wiles and powers of this same enemy to blessed Job, said amongst other things, *Will he make many supplications to you, or speak soft words to you*.[22] For nowhere can one read that the Devil will do penance, but his body, which is condemned, in the end will say, *Lord, Lord, open to us*.[23]

17 Augustine *DDC* 3.50-51 (110.1-2, 111.15-35); ultimately Tyconius *Lib. reg*. (55-66). 'in the heart of the earth': Matt. 12:40; 'seven times a day': Ps. 118(119):164; 'His praise': Ps. 33:2(34:1); 'hence the seventy years of Jeremiah': Jer. 25:11; 'the totality of the saints': Rev. 7:4. The whole 'for unless …heart of the earth': substantially repeated by Bede in *DTR* 5 (289.129–290.134), tr. Wallis, p. 23.

18 Augustine *DDC* 3.52 (111.1–112.6); ultimately Tyconius *Lib. reg.* (66-70).

19 Gen. 10:32 and 11.1, quoted in Augustine *DDC* 3.53 (113.32-35).

20 Augustine *DDC* 3.53 (113.37-40, 44-47).

21 Augustine *DDC* 3.55 (114.1-2, 9-10); ultimately Tyconius *Lib. reg.* (70-85).

22 Job 40:22 (41.3).

23 Matt. 25:11, Luke 13:25. This and the preceding quotation occur together in Gregory's discussion of Leviathan in *Mor.* 33.27 (1697.1-2, 7-10): Vercruysse, 'Bède lecteur de Tyconius', p. 21.

Whoever carefully investigates these things will find that these rules do not apply to the Apocalypse (that is, the revelation of St John) alone; rather, [they are valid] also for the whole of canonical Scripture, particularly prophetic Scripture. Tyconius had a vivid understanding of [Revelation], and explained it in a truthful and sufficiently catholic fashion, aside from those passages in which, driven to defend the schism of his own party (that is, the Donatists), he deplored the persecutions which they bore as heretics at the hand of the devout emperor Valentinian, when their churches and people, their houses and possessions were confiscated by the Catholics and their priests driven into exile.[24] Calling it martyrdom, [Tyconius] boasted that these things had been predicted in Revelation.[25] We have followed the meaning of that author of this work, but have omitted for the sake of brevity some peripheral things which he put in. Being a clever man and one who (as it was said of him) ***/233/*** flowered as a rose amongst thorns,[26] many things seemed to him obvious and not worthy of inquiry; these we have taken care to add, as far as we are able, from material handed down from our teachers, or from recollecting what we have read, or even from the resources of our own understanding. For we have it from the commandments that we should repay to the Lord the talent which we have received, with interest.[27] Although it has pleased us to divide the aforementioned work, for the sake of relieving the mind, into three short books – for in some inexplicable way *the attention of the reader is refreshed by the end of a book just as the toil of a wayfarer by an inn*, as St Augustine says[28] – nonetheless so that those who seek may more readily find, it will be seen that the same unbroken order of chapters [*capitulorum intemerata series*] ought to be preserved throughout, in accordance with the way in which I previously distinguished them in the chapter-headings which are prefaced [*praepositis*

24 Bede's statement that the Donatists were persecuted as heretics 'under the emperor Valentinian' is curious. Tyconius died before 400, and the only emperor named Valentinian who took measures against the Donatists was Valentinian I (r. 364–375). However, the Donatists were not declared heretics until 405. Vercruysse ('Bède lecteur de Tyconius', p. 23) speculates that Bede may have encountered this reference to Valentinian in Tyconius's commentary on Revelation, though it is not in any of the surviving fragments. Bede does not repeat this information in either of his chronicles.

25 Bede is repeating the report in Augustine, *Contra Gaudentium* 1.27.30-31, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 53 (1910), pp. 228–230.

26 Bede seems to have invented this metaphor for Tyconius, possibly in response to Primasius, pref. (2.18-21): Vercruysse, 'Bède lecteur de Tyconius', pp. 22–23; see Introduction, p. 18.

27 Matt. 25:27.

28 *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum* 1.53, ed. K.-D. Daur, CCSL 49 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), 86.1543-1544; *cf.* Bede, *In Lucam* 1 (99.3173-3174).

brevibus] to the book [of the commentary] itself.[29] Aware as I am of the sloth of our race (that is, the English), which not long ago, in fact in the time of Pope Gregory the blessed, received the seed of faith, and has cultivated it rather lukewarmly, as far as reading is concerned, I decided not only to throw light on what [the text] says, but also to compress its meaning. For plain brevity usually makes a greater impression on the memory than wordy disputation. Beloved brother, I wish you well, and may you deign always to remember your Bede.

Here ends the preface.

29 See Introduction, pp. 61–66.

/235/

HERE BEGINS BOOK ONE OF THE TREATISE OF BEDE THE PRIEST ON REVELATION

I[1]

[1:1] **THE REVELATION OF JESUS CHRIST, WHICH GOD GAVE TO HIM, TO MAKE KNOWN TO HIS SERVANTS …** To strengthen *those who preached* the faith against their adversaries in the world*, it was needful to reveal to them* either by what *path* the Church *founded by the disciples* was to be spread abroad, or how it shall be perfected in the *end*.[2] John testifies that Jesus Christ received the revelation of this mystery from God, referring (as is his custom) the glory of the Son to the Father.

THE THINGS WHICH MUST SHORTLY COME TO PASS; …
That is, which are to happen to the Church in the present time.

AND SIGNIFIED, …
He framed this same revelation in dark and difficult language, for if it were obvious to everyone, it might be despised.[3]

SENDING BY HIS ANGEL …
An angel in the form [*figura*] of Christ was seen by John, as will appear more plainly in what follows.[4] /237/

TO HIS SERVANT JOHN.
In order that he might publish them before all his servants through John, who deserved above all others to perceive these things since he was favoured

1 These Roman numerals represent Bede's *capitula lectionum*, the text of which is translated in the Appendix; see introduction, pp. 61–66.

2 Primasius 1.6-13. Adams's edition divides Primasius's commentary into chapters corresponding to the modern chapters of Revelation, with line numbers commencing afresh at each chapter. References in this translation, as in Gryson's edition, therefore refer to the chapter of Revelation, followed by the line number.

3 Bede reiterates this statement in his commentary on 10:4 below. This is a traditional commonplace applied to poetry, oracles, parables etc. in both classical and Christian writings. However, it indicates that Bede saw the message of Revelation as essentially unambiguous; its presentation, however, was deliberately arresting and mysterious.

4 Cf. Primasius 1.26-29.

with exceptional chastity.[5]

[1:2] **WHO HAS GIVEN TESTIMONY TO THE WORD OF GOD, AND THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS CHRIST, WHATSOEVER THINGS HE HAS SEEN.**
Lest you have doubts concerning the person of John, he is the one who bore witness to the eternal Word of God, and him incarnate, whom he had seen, saying*, we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only-begotten of the Father*.[6]

[1:3] **BLESSED IS HE THAT READS AND HEARS THE WORDS OF THIS PROPHECY, AND SO FORTH [AND KEEPS THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE WRITTEN IN IT: FOR THE TIME IS AT HAND].**
Therefore he who *teaches* and those who *listen* are blessed, because for *those who keep* the word of God, eternal glory follows on a brief time of toil.[7]

II

[1:4] **JOHN TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES WHICH ARE IN ASIA: …**
Through these seven churches, he writes to the whole Church. For *an entirety* is usually designated *by the number seven*,[8] since the totality of time of this world-age [*saeculum*] unfolds in seven days.[9]

5 Bede accepts that the John who wrote Revelation is the Apostle and evangelist. However, the fact that John was chosen to witness the revelation is usually attributed to Christ's particular love for John, and not to John's chastity: see Primasius 6.11-17, 7.31-33, and prologues to Revelation in Sparks, pp. 407–409. That John's merit was exceptional chastity may reflect Bede's monastic perspective, but it found reinforcement in patristic authors such as Arator, *De actibus apostolorum* 1.624-625, ed. A.P. McKinlay, CSEL 72 (1951), p. 50, whom Bede quotes in his *Act. Ap.* 8.14 (37.7-8; tr. Martin, pp. 79–80: 'Peter frequently made John his companion because a virgin is pleasing to the Church'). See also *DTR* 66 [*s.a.* 4049] (499.1092-4; tr. Wallis, p. 200) *re:* John's chastity as defence against torture by boiling oil (taken from Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.26). See also Bede's *Hom.* 1.8 (52.6-8), 1.4 (25.173; 27.219) and 1.18 (129.38-39).

6 John 1:14.

7 Cf. Primasius 1.34-37.

8 Primasius 1.44-45.

9 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* IV (see Appendix). This is a unique allusion in the *Commentary* to the notion of the world-week, an idea which Bede will exploit more fully in *DTR* ch. 10 and the prologue to ch. 66. On its roots in Patristic literature, see Luneau, *L'Histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'*Église, part 4, and Hildegard L.C. Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi. De Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren. Untersuchungen und Texte* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1985), p. 23.

GRACE BE UNTO YOU AND PEACE, FROM HIM THAT IS AND THAT WAS AND THAT IS TO COME; AND FROM THE SEVEN SPIRITS, and so forth **[which are before his throne …].**
He wishes the devout grace and peace from God the eternal Father, and *from the sevenfold Spirit*.

[1:5] **AND FROM JESUS CHRIST [who is the faithful witness …]**, *who bore witness to the Father in the manhood he assumed*.[10] He names the Son third, of whom he was going to say much. He names him last, who himself is first and last,[11] ***/239/*** for he has already named him in the Father, saying, *who is to come*.

… THE FIRST BEGOTTEN OF THE DEAD[12] AND THE PRINCE OF THE KINGS OF THE EARTH, [who has loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood.]
This is what the Apostle Paul says*: We see Jesus because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour*.[13] And elsewhere, describing the shame of the Cross, he says, *For which cause God also has exalted him and has given him a name which is above all names*.[14]

[1:6] **AND HAS MADE US A KINGDOM AND PRIESTS TO GOD AND HIS FATHER. [To him be glory and empire for ever and ever. Amen.]**
Because the King of kings[15] and heavenly Priest has united us to his body by offering himself for us, *no saint lacks the office of priest in the spiritual sense, for he is a member of the eternal Priest*.[16]

[1:7] **BEHOLD, HE COMES WITH THE CLOUDS, AND EVERY EYE SHALL SEE HIM; …**
He who first came hidden, and subject to judgement, shall then *come openly*

10 Primasius 1.72-74; the ultimate source is Victorinus/Jerome 1.2 (19.5-6).

11 Rev. 1:11.

12 Cf. what Bede says on this subject of Christ's status as 'firstborn' in his *Hom.* 1.5 (trans. Martin and Hurst, pp. 48–49).

13 Heb. 2:9.

14 Phil. 2:9.

15 Cf. 1 Tim. 6:15.

16 Irish Anonymous, *Commentarius in Epistolas Catholicas Scotti Anonymi*, ed. R.E. McNally, *Scriptores Hiberniae Minores* 1, CCSL 108B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1973), 31.126-127 (re: 1 Pet. 2.5). On this theme of the Christ's priesthood and the priesthood of the Church in Bede's exegesis, see Congar, *Ecclésiologie du haut moyen âge*, p. 109, n. 213.

to judge.[17] He brings these things to mind in order to strengthen the Church – now set upon by foes, but then destined to reign with Christ – to bear her sufferings.

AND THEY ALSO THAT PIERCED HIM. AND ALL THE TRIBES OF THE EARTH SHALL BEWAIL THEMSELVES BECAUSE OF HIM …
Seeing the powerful judge in that form *in which they accounted him as nothing, they shall bewail themselves in belated penance*.[18]

EVEN SO. AMEN.
By adding 'amen' he confirms without doubt that what he knows is going to be through God's most certain revelation, will come to pass.[19]

[1:8] **I AM ALPHA AND OMEGA, THE BEGINNING AND THE END, SAYS THE LORD GOD …**
The beginning, whom none precedes; the end, whom none succeeds in rule.[20] ***/241/***

WHO IS AND WHO WAS AND WHO IS TO COME, THE ALMIGHTY.
He had said this very thing concerning the Father. For the Father both came, and is to come in the Son.

III

[1:9] **I, JOHN, YOUR BROTHER AND YOUR PARTNER IN TRIBULATION [and in the kingdom and patience in Jesus Christ …]**
He *intimates* the person, *place, time and reason* of the vision which he testifies to have seen in the Spirit, *lest anyone think that he had been beguiled by a fleshly apparition*.[21]

WAS ON THE ISLE THAT IS CALLED PATMOS, FOR THE WORD OF GOD AND FOR THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS.
It is a known historical fact that John was exiled to this island for the sake

17 Primasius 1.90-91; cf. Victorinus/Jerome 1.1 (19.13-15).
18 Primasius 1.94-97. Primasius singles out the Jews, but Bede suppresses this detail.
19 Primasius 1.98-99.
20 Primasius 3.128-129.
21 Primasius 1.109-110, 113-114.

of the Gospel by the emperor Domitian.[22] It was fitting that when *he was forbidden to go beyond a circumscribed confine of the earth*, it was vouchsafed to him *to penetrate the secret things of heaven*.[23]

[1:10] **I WAS IN THE SPIRIT ON THE LORD'S DAY …**
He indicates as well a fitting time for his spiritual vision. For Scripture is accustomed to express the attendant circumstances [*terminos causarum … statutos*] – often things like the place, or the [state of] the body or [the quality of] the atmosphere, and the time as well. The angels visited Abraham at noon, and Sodom at nightfall. In the afternoon, Adam trembled with fear at the voice of the Lord, as he walked about [the Garden of Eden].[24] And at night Solomon received the wisdom he was not destined to keep.[25]

AND HEARD BEHIND ME A GREAT VOICE, [AS OF A TRUMPET.]
First he is warned by means of the voice to turn his attention to the vision.

[1:11] **[Saying,[26]] WHAT YOU SEE, WRITE IN A BOOK AND SEND IT UNTO THE SEVEN CHURCHES */243/* WHICH ARE IN ASIA; to Ephesus and to Smyrna and to Pergamum and to Thyatira and to Sardis and to Philadelphia and to Laodicea.**
The Church of Christ was not only in these places at this time, but all fulness is comprised in the number seven.[27] *Asia, which means 'rise'*, stands for the

22 Primasius prol. 18–21 (not in Gryson's appartus), cf. Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. Rudolf Helm, *Eusebius Werke* 7.1, Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 24 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913) 192.1-4; *De viris illustribus* 9.6, ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Gli uomini illustri. De viris illustribus* (Florence: Nardini, 1988), p. 94. This is recorded by Bede in *DT* 22 (ed. Jones 608.12), and *DTR* c. 66 [*s.a.* 4049] (ed. Jones, 498.1088–499.1089; tr. Wallis, p. 200). See also Bede's *Hom.* 1.9 (63.125–64.134) and 2.21 (340.209–341-216).

23 Primasius 1.23-25. These sentiments are echoed in Bede's prefatory poem: see above, p. 99.

24 Gen. 3:8.

25 Bede is paraphrasing Gregory, *Mor.* 2.2 (59.3-7, 32-36). The Biblical references are to Gen. 18:1, 19:1 and 3:8; 3 Kings/1 Kings 3:5.

26 Some Greek MSS of Revelation repeat at this point the phrase *I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last*, and this reading has been carried forward into the Authorized Version. Neither the Vetus Latina nor the Vulgate contains it (cf. Sparks, p. 424). However, in his exegesis of 21:6, Bede reproduces Primasius's statement that 21:6 is the *third* time that the phrase appears in the text of Revelation, which would only make sense if Primasius were using a version of the text which contained this addition to v.11. It is, of course, repeated in 22:13, but this comes after 21:6. It is not, curiously, in Primasius's own citation of 1:11 (1.117-119).

27 Cf. Tyconius 1.11 (109) and compare to *Lib. reg.* 5 (59.24). Echoed in Caesarius 216,1-2, Beatus 1.5.64.

proud haughtiness of the world, in which the Church wanders as a stranger, and as is the way with the divine mystery, the genus is included within the species. For the apostle Paul also writes to seven Churches, though not the same [seven] as John does.[28] Although these seven places symbolize the whole sevenfold Church, nonetheless what he *rebukes or praises*[29] was done in these [churches] specifically.[30]

[1:12] [**And I turned to see the voice that spoke with me. And, being turned,] I SAW SEVEN GOLDEN CANDLESTICKS;**
Here he describes beautifully the aspect of the Church, as it shows forth the light of divine love in the blaze of a chaste bosom, according to what the Lord said*: Let your loins be girt and your lamps burning.*[31] He designates its inner and outer perfection through the two parts of the number seven, when each and every person in her, being constituted of the four qualities of the body, *loves the Lord God with all* his *heart and with all* his *soul*.[32]

[1:13] **AND IN THE MIDST OF THE SEVEN CANDLESTICKS, ONE LIKE TO THE SON OF MAN, …**
He says that he is 'like the Son of Man', because after overcoming death, [the Son of Man] ascended into heaven.[33] For we indeed *have known Christ according to the flesh, but now we know him in this way no longer*.[34] *Well does he say 'in the midst',**/245/** for he says, All you that are round about him shall bring presents.*[35]

28 The etymology of Asia is from Primasius 1.126, but Bede's interpretation departs from Primasius. Paul's letters were addressed to the churches of Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colossae, and Thessalonica, so there is, in fact, some overlap with John's seven churches, namely Ephesus. Victorinus/Jerome 1.7 (29.4-10) names Paul's seven churches, but does not observe that they are different from John's.

29 Primasius 2.156–58; cf. Caesarius 216.4. Ultimately from Tyconius 1.23 (118): cf. *Lib. reg.* 2 (11.2-3), and parallel passage in Beatus 2.3.2. Simultaneous praise and rebuke is Tyconius's diagnostic sign for passages referring to the *ecclesia bipartita*.

30 Cf. Primasius 1.11-13.

31 Luke 12:35.

32 Matt. 22:37, Mark 12:30 or Luke 10:27. Quoted by Primasius (1.44-51), from whom Bede paraphrased his identification of the number seven with the Church, as the sum of the numbers for body (4) and soul (3). This theme is taken up again by Bede in *Exp. Act.* 15.22–16.25.

33 Primasius 1.201-202; cf. Victorinus/Jerome 1.2 (19.19-20).

34 2 Cor. 5:16.

35 Primasius 1.180-181, quoting Ps. 75:12 (76:11). The association of this Psalm verse with the Magi is reflected in a twelfth-century seven-branched candlestick, now in Milan, which represents the Magi in the central knop. George Henderson argues for the influence of Bede's *Commentary*, but of course the inspiration could have come from Primasius: *Bede and the Visual Arts*, p. 20.

CLOTHED WITH A GARMENT DOWN TO THE FEET … [*vestitum podere*]
The *poderis*, which is called *tunica talaris* in Latin, *is a priestly garment. It shows Christ's priesthood*, by which he offers himself *as a victim to the Father* upon the altar *of the cross for our sake*.[36]

AND GIRT ABOUT THE BREAST WITH A GOLDEN GIRDLE.
The breasts he mentions here are the two testaments from which he instructs the body of the saints bound to himself. *The golden girdle is the chorus of the saints, clinging* to the Lord with harmonious love, and embracing the *testaments*, preserving, *as the Apostle says,* '*the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace'*.[37]

[1:14] **HIS HEAD AND HIS HAIRS WERE WHITE, AS WHITE WOOL AND AS SNOW, …**
The whiteness shows the antiquity and immortality of majesty in the head,[38] to whom all excellent men cling like hairs; they shine like wool *because of the sheep who shall be at his right hand*,[39]and like snow because of the numberless throng of those washed white, and of the elect who come forth from heaven.[40]

AND HIS EYES WERE AS A FLAME OF FIRE.
Preachers[41] are the eyes of the Lord, *who with spiritual fire give light to the faithful, and to the unbelievers, a conflagration.*[42]

[1:15] **AND HIS FEET LIKE FINE BRASS, AS IN A BURNING FURNACE; …**
The blazing feet stand for the Church of the final times [*nouissimi temporis*],

36 Primasius 1.208-211.

37 Primasius 1.212-213, 220-223, cf. Victorinus/Jerome 1.4 (23.4-6), and quoting Eph. 4:3. The phrase 'from which he feeds the body of the saints' is found in Caesarius 211.14. The convergence of these sources, as well as the emphasis on the unity of the Church, points to Tyconius. On the feminine imagery of the breasts, see Holder, 'The Feminine Christ in Bede's Biblical Commentaries', p. 110. Bede alludes to this passage and its feminine imagery in his *In Cantica canticorum* 1, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983), 191.70–192.82, to demonstrate the figural quality of the text.

38 Primasius 1.207-208; cf. Victorinus/Jerome 1.2 (21.4-5).

39 Primasius 1.226-227; cf. Caesarius 211.19-22.

40 Primasius 1.228-229; from Victorinus/Jerome 1.2 (21.8-10). Cf. Caesarius 211.19-20.

41 (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 201.84-85; cf. Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede', p. 404. Note that Primasius interprets the eyes as the commandments of God.

42 Primasius 1.237-238; cf. Victorinus/Jerome 1.2 (21.11-12).

which is to be tested *and proved by violent afflictions. 'Brass' **/247/*** is *bronze brought to a golden colour by much fire and refining*.[43] Another translation, which says that they are 'like the brass of Lebanon', signifies that the Church, particularly in the final times, will be persecuted in Judaea, of which Lebanon is a mountain.[44] For the temple is often called 'Lebanon', of which it is said, *Open your gates, O Lebanon, and let fire devour your cedars.*[45]

AND HIS VOICE WAS AS THE SOUND OF MANY WATERS.
The voice of confession and preaching and praise resounds not only in Judaea, but amongst *many peoples*.[46]

[1:16] **AND HE HAD IN HIS RIGHT HAND SEVEN STARS …**
At the right hand of Christ is the spiritual Church. 'The queen,' he says, 'stood at your right hand in gilded clothing.' To him who stands at his right hand *he says, 'Come, blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom.'*[47]

AND FROM HIS MOUTH CAME OUT A SHARP TWO-EDGED SWORD …
He, judging all things visible and invisible, *after he has killed, has power to cast into hell-fire*.[48]

AND HIS FACE WAS AS THE SUN SHINING IN HIS POWER.
After the Judgement, the Lord shall appear to all the saints in the same way that he appeared to the disciples on the mountain. The wicked *shall look upon him whom they have pierced*.[49] But the full array of the Son of Man

43 Primasius 1.240-242, 245-247. Ultimately from Tyconius 1.5 (107), and paralleled in Caesarius 212.5-9, 11-12.

44 The 'other translation' is the one used by Primasius 1.240, and represents the version used by Tyconius 1.5 (107): cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 182. Bede's exegesis follows Primasius 1.247-250; cf. Beatus 1.4.75-76; Caesarius 212.5-10; Victorinus/Jerome 1.5 (25.17-18).

45 Paraphrasing Jerome, *In Is.* 10.11 (1142.30-33); the Biblical quotation is from Zech. 11:1.

46 Primasius 1.252-253; it is broadly paralleled in Caesarius 212.21-22, Beatus pr. 4.23, and may originate in Victorinus/Jerome 1.5 (25.17-18).

47 Primasius 1.257-260, quoting Ps. 44(45):9 and Matt. 25:34. The phrase 'the spiritual church' is also found in this context in Caesarius 213.2-3, Beatus 1.4.88, and is ultimately from Tyconius 1.7 (108). For a related exegesis of Ps. 44:9, identifying the queen as the spiritual *Jerusalem*, see Augustine, *DCD* 17.16 (581.37-65).

48 Luke 12:5.

49 *uidebunt in quem pupunxerunt*: John 19:37; cf. Zech. 12:9 (Vulgate): *aspicient ad me quem confixerunt*. It may be compared to Bede's discussion of the Transfiguration in *In Lucam* 3 (1525-1530) and *In Marcum* 3 (42-46). The exegesis of this verse echoes Augustine, *DCD* 22.19 (839.48-53), but this source is not mentioned by Gryson.

refers in this case to the Church, with which Christ is made one nature, and which shares his priestly honour ***/249/*** and power to judge, so that it *shines like the sun in the Father's kingdom*.[50]

[1:17] **AND WHEN I HAD SEEN HIM, I FELL AT HIS FEET [as though dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying …]**
Like a man he trembles at the spiritual vision, but human fear is driven out by the tender mercy of the Lord.

[Fear not.] I AM THE FIRST AND THE LAST.
First, because 'all things were made in him'; last, because all things are restored in him.[51]

[1:18] **[And alive, and was dead; and, behold, I am living for ever and ever] AND HAVE THE KEYS OF DEATH AND HELL.**
Not only, he says, have I overcome death by my resurrection, but I have dominion over death itself. He shares this as well with the Church by breathing onto it the Holy Spirit, saying, *Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained*.[52]

[1:19] **WRITE THEREFORE THE THINGS WHICH YOU HAVE SEEN; AND WHICH ARE; AND WHICH MUST TAKE PLACE HEREAFTER.**
That which you alone saw, show to everyone: that is, the various labours of the Church, and the *wicked mixed up with the good* in her *until the end of the world*.[53]

[1:20] **[The mystery of the seven stars, which you saw in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks;] THE SEVEN STARS ARE THE ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES; [and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches.]**
That is, [the seven stars are] *the rulers* of the Churches.[54] For as Zechariah says, the priest *is the angel of the Lord of hosts*.[55]

50 Matt. 13:43; this verse is quoted by Primasius 1.278-279. The ultimate source is Tyconius 1.8 (108-109): cf. Caesarius 214.8-10, Beatus 1.4.116.

51 Primasius 1.296-297, quoting John 1:3.

52 The quotation from John 20:23 is found in Tyconius 1.10 (109); cf. Primasius 1.312-313; Caesarius 215.10-11.

53 Primasius 2.22, from Tyconius 1.11 (113); cf. Beatus 1.5.71-73.

54 Primasius 1.324-325. The ultimate source is Tyconius 1.11 (113): cf. Caesarius 215.12-14.

55 The quotation is actually from Mal. 2:7; cf. Zech. 12:8.

IV

[2:1] **AND TO THE ANGEL OF THE CHURCH OF EPHESUS WRITE: …**
He *rebukes* a part of this Church, and *praises* a part, in accordance with the significance of its name.[56] For Ephesus means 'a great falling away', and also 'my will is in her'.[57] ***/251/***

THESE THINGS SAYS HE WHO HOLDS THE SEVEN STARS IN HIS RIGHT HAND, …
That is, he has you in his hand, and by his power he rules and holds you.[58]

WHO WALKS IN THE MIDST OF THE SEVEN GOLDEN CANDLESTICKS:
Who, passing *in your midst*,[59] examines *the hearts and reins*[60] of every one.

[2:2] **I KNOW YOUR WORKS AND YOUR LABOUR AND YOUR PATIENCE** and so forth **[and how you cannot bear them that are evil; and you have tried them who say they are apostles and are not, and have found them liars;** [2.3] **And you have patience and have endured for my name and have not fainted.]**
I see you, he says, zealously doing good works, and patiently bearing the intolerable injuries of the wicked – you who, diligently examining the words and deeds of the pseudo-apostles, have not been willing to yield to them on any point.

[2:4] **BUT I HAVE THIS AGAINST YOU, BECAUSE YOU HAVE LEFT YOUR FIRST CHARITY** and so forth. [[2:5] **Be mindful therefore from whence you are fallen; and do penance and do the first works. Or else I come to you and will move your candlestick out of its place, unless you do penance.** [2:6] **But this you have, that you hate the deeds**

56 Tyconius 1.11 (113); the closest parallel is Caesarius 216.2-4; cf. Primasius 2.13-15; Beatus 1.5.65.

57 Bede's first etymology (*lapsus magnus*) is based on the resemblance between the name 'Ephesus' and the Greek word *ephesis* ('throwing, hurling'). The second interpretation is from Primasius 1.135-136, which draws on Jerome, *Lib. int.* (160.17): see Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, pp. 170–171.

58 Primasius 2.25-26; cf. almost identical wording in Caesarius 216.16-17. The ultimate source is Tyconius 1.12 (113).

59 Tyconius 1.12 (113), Primasius 2.27 and Caesarius 216.18. The phrasing is typically Tyconian: cf. Bright, *Book of Rules*, pp. 49–51.

60 Cf. Ps. 7:9(10), 26(25):2; Rev. 2:23.

of the Nicolaites, which I also hate.]
Indeed, in the persons of some, you have abandoned the love you started with, and unless these people recover it, I shall deprive them of the reward of light which I promised. But in some matters you have *hated* the example of the perverse, namely in *idolatry and fornication.* For these are the deeds of the Nicolaites, as shall be shown in what follows. [61]

[2:7] **HE WHO HAS AN EAR, LET HIM HEAR WHAT THE SPIRIT SAYS TO THE CHURCHES: …**
He shows that what he writes to each of the Churches, he is saying to all.[62] For not only the Church of Ephesus was to be removed from its place if it did not repent, nor is the seat of Satan at Pergamum isolated, ***/253/*** and not everywhere. The rest as well applies both to the individual [churches] and to the Church as a whole.[63]

TO HIM WHO OVERCOMES I WILL GIVE TO EAT OF THE TREE OF LIFE, WHICH IS IN THE PARADISE OF MY GOD.
Christ is the tree of life, from whom holy souls are nourished in the celestial *paradise* by vision, and in the body they have now, by the *Church*. [64]

[2:8] **AND TO THE ANGEL OF THE CHURCH IN SMYRNA WRITE: …**
He advises this church concerning the persecution they have to bear, and this agrees with its name. For Smyrna means 'myrrh',[65] which symbolizes the mortification of the flesh.

THESE THINGS SAYS THE FIRST AND THE LAST, WHO WAS DEAD AND IS ALIVE:
Who both created everything, and restored everything by his dying – a fitting preface for one who is about to counsel patience.[66]

[2:9] **I KNOW YOUR TRIBULATION AND YOUR POVERTY, BUT YOU ARE RICH; …**

61 Primasius 2.61-62; cf. Beatus 2.1.55.

62 Primasius 2.11-12, 2.62-63, and ultimately Tyconius 1.11 (112). Cf. Caesarius 216.14-15; Beatus 1.5.61.

63 Tyconius 1.11 (112); cf. Beatus 1.5.62.

64 Cf. Primasius 2.67-70.

65 Gregory, *Homeliae in Evangelia* 10.6, ed. R. Étaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 70.119; see also Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 171.

66 ' …a fitting preface …' is a Bedan formula: cf. *In Sam.* 2 (2450).

For *blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs in the kingdom of heaven.*[67] In a short line of poetry, Fortunatus expresses this beautifully: *The poor man in his dire straits rules by owning God*.[68]

[And you are blasphemed by those] THAT SAY THEY ARE JEWS AND ARE NOT, [but are the synagogue of Satan.]
They profess that they know God, but in their works they deny him.[69] *For* 'Jew' is *a noun designating religion. Hence the Apostle: 'He is a Jew who is one inwardly, and the circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter'*.[70]

[2:10] **[Fear none of those things which you shall suffer.] BEHOLD, THE DEVIL SHALL CAST SOME OF YOU INTO PRISON, THAT YOU MAY BE TRIED; …**
These statements apply to the whole Church, against which the Devil always exercises implacable hatred.[71] **/255/**

AND YOU SHALL HAVE TRIBULATION TEN DAYS.
This signifies the whole period of time in which the commandments *of the Decalogue* are *necessary*.[72] For as long as you follow the light of the divine word you must endure the prison of your hostile foe. Some think that [the ten days] signify ten persecutions of the heathen, from the emperor Nero to Diocletian.[73]

67 Matt. 5:3. Alluded to by Tyconius 1.18 (116), Primasius 2.73-74, Caesarius 216.31 and Beatus 2.2.3 (who quoted the verse from Matthew directly).

68 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* 8.3, ed. F. Leo, *Venantii … Fortunati … opera poetica*, MGH AA 4.1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), 189.296.

69 Titus 1:15.

70 Primasius 2.80-82, quoting Rom. 2:29. Ultimately from Tyconius 1.19 (117); cf. Beatus 2.2.7-9.

71 Primasius 2.90-92.

72 Primasius 2.93-94. Cf. Caesarius 217.2 (for the phrase 'whole period of time') and Beatus 2.2.93; ultimately from Tyconius 1.21 (118). This is a good example of Tyconius's concept of 'legitimate numbers': cf. *Lib. reg.* 5 (60.6-10); Bonner, *Saint Bede*, p. 21.

73 Bede is referring to Orosius, *Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII* 7.27, ed. C. Zangenmeister, CSEL 5 (1882), pp. 496.4–499.6, who launched the idea that the persecutions formed a series of exactly ten: Nero (7.7.10), Domitian (7.10.1.5), Trajan (7.12.3-4), Marcus Aurelius (7.15.4), Severus (7.17.4), Maximian (7.19.1), Decius (7.21.2), Valerian (7.23.3), Aurelian (7.23.6) and Diocletian (7.25.13). It is also found in the chronicles of Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* 2.33.4), where the tenth persecution is Antichrist's. An alternative schema lists six persecutions: see Irshai, 'Dating the Eschaton', p. 144 and V. Grümel, 'Du nombre des persecutions paiennes dans les anciennes chroniques', *Revue des études augustiniennes* 2 (1956): 59–66. Augustine

BE FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH; AND I WILL GIVE YOU THE CROWN OF LIFE.
In exhorting perseverance in the faith unto death, he shows what the 'ten days' lead to.

[2:11] **[He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches:] HE THAT SHALL OVERCOME SHALL NOT BE HURT BY THE SECOND DEATH.**
He that shall have remained faithful unto the death of the body will not fear the eternal death of the soul.[74]

[2:12] **AND TO THE ANGEL OF PERGAMUM WRITE: …**
Pergamum means 'dividing their horns', which by its judgement distinguished between the virtue of the *faithful* and the perfidy of the *Nicolaites*, so that the *horns of the sinners* might be *broken in pieces, and the horns of the just exalted*.[75]

HE SAYS THESE THINGS, WHO HAS THE SHARP TWO-EDGED SWORD:
It is appropriate that he put his power of judgement first – he who was the victors' prize, and who was to mete out punishment to the wrongdoers.

[2:13] **I KNOW WHERE YOU DWELL, WHERE THE SEAT OF SATAN IS. AND YOU HOLD FAST MY NAME AND HAVE NOT DENIED MY FAITH; …**

---

tartly rejects the notion in *DCD* 18.52, pointing out that persecutions antedated Nero, and were continued after Diocletian's reign, notably by Julian the Apostate, Arian emperors such as Valens, and the Arian kings of the Goths. Bede seems not to have been aware of, or receptive to, Augustine's critique, since he repeats the notion of the ten persecutions in *HE* 1.6. Beatus (2.2.83-84) takes up the idea of the ten persecutions, but compares them to the plagues of Egypt, and avoids linking them to the ten days in this verse. By historicizing the persecutions, Bede and the tradition he is following avoids any implication that these represent present or future persecutors. But see his exegesis of 17:12 below.

74 Bede's interpretation of the double death as the death of the body and the death of the soul is difficult to trace. Both Augustine (in *DCD* 13.2) and Gregory (*Dialogi* 4.3, 4.45) regard the second death as something which encompassed the whole man, body and soul, while the soul can die even in this mortal life. The source of Bede's interpretation might be the chapter-heading of *DCD* 13.2 ('The Death of the Soul and the Death of the Body'), though it is also possible that he extrapolated the idea from Tyconius, who on the evidence of Gennadius was the author of the doctrine of the double resurrection which Augustine developed in *DCD* 20.6-7: *De viris inlustribus* 18, ed. E.H. Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 14.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896), p. 69.

75 Primasius 2.151-7, incorporating quotation from Psalm 74(75).11(10).

I indeed approve your patience, for while you tarry amongst the reprobate, who are the devil's throne,[76] you have worshipped me not only in the name by which you are called Christian, but in uncompromised faith during a time of bloody persecution. ***/257/*** But I disapprove of the fact that I see teachers in your midst who lead [you] astray.

EVEN IN THOSE DAYS WHEN ANTIPAS MY FAITHFUL WITNESS WAS SLAIN AMONG YOU, [where Satan dwells.]
Some think this [Antipas] was a martyr who suffered at Pergamum;[77] others, that this is Christ the Lord, who even now is slain by the unbelievers, insofar as it is possible for them to do so.[78]

[2:14] **[But I have against you a few things; because you have there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel,] TO EAT, AND TO COMMIT FORNICATION;**
These are the two main things for which all carnal people *strive*, *whose god is their belly, and their glory in confusion*. But every wicked deed is idolatry, and spiritual fornication.[79]

[2:15] **SO YOU ALSO HAVE THEM THAT HOLD THE DOCTRINE OF THE NICOLAITES.**
The Nicolaites take their name from the deacon *Nicolas*, who (Clement relates) was rebuked for being *jealous of his very lovely wife*. He replied that whoever wanted her could have her for his wife, and on these grounds unbelievers taught that the apostles allowed everyone to have promiscuous and communal relations with women. For they say that the Nicolaites preached some *fanciful* and well-nigh pagan things concerning the origin of the *universe*, and that they did not avoid as food what is offered as sacrifice.[80]

76 Primasius 2.154-155, ultimately from Tyconius 1.22 (118): cf. Caesarius 217.7-8; Beatus 2.3.1.

77 Tertullian, *Scorpiace* c. 12.7, ed. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa, CCSL 2 (1954), 1093.12-13; cf. Cassiodorus, *Complexiones*, ed. Roger Gryson, *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*, CCSL 107 (2003), 5.11-14.

78 The second opinion corresponds to Primasius 2.160-161; it is a good illustration of Tyconius's first rule.

79 Primasius 2.166-167, 169, except for the embedded quotation from Phil. 2:19 (*whose god is their belly, and their glory in confusion*). Ultimately from Tyconius 1.23 (118); cf. Beatus 2.3.8-9.

80 Augustine, *De haeresibus* 5, ed. R. Vander Plaetse and C. Beukers, CC 46 (1969), pp. 291.1–292.10. Augustine is drawing on Rufinus's trans. of Eusebius, *HE* 3.29.1-4 (261-3); ultimately the information comes from Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 3.4.25. Cf. Bede's *Act. Ap.* 12.2 and *Retractatio* on 1.23.

[2:16] **[In like manner, do penance. If not, I will come to you quickly and will fight against you with the sword of my mouth.** [2:17] **He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches:] TO HIM WHO OVERCOMES WILL I GIVE THE HIDDEN MANNA; …**
He who scorns the allurements of the flesh when he is lured by hypocritical persuasion will justly be filled with the sweetness of the invisible *bread which comes down from heaven*.[81] ***/259/***

AND I WILL GIVE HIM A WHITE STONE; …
That is, a body now rendered white by baptism,[82] and then refulgent with the glory of incorruptibility.

AND ON THE STONE, A NEW NAME WRITTEN, …
So that we should be called, and shall be, the sons of God.[83]

WHICH NO ONE KNOWS BUT HE WHO RECEIVES IT.
Because *he who says that he knows* God *and does not keep his commandments, is a liar*.[84] A hypocrite does not *taste how sweet the Lord is*.[85]

[2:18] **AND TO THE ANGEL OF THE CHURCH OF THYATIRA WRITE: …**
Thyatira means 'sacrificial victim',[86] for the saints *present their bodies* as a *living sacrifice*.[87]

THESE THINGS SAYS THE SON OF GOD, WHO HAS EYES LIKE A FLAME OF FIRE, …
Later on he shows who the eyes of flame are, saying, *I am he that searches the reins and hearts. And I will give to every one of you according to your works*.[88]

81 John 6:33; quoted by Primasius 2.178. The ultimate source is Tyconius 1.25 (119); cf. Beatus 2.3.42.

82 Tyconius 1.26 (119); cf. Caesarius 217.13-14; Beatus 2.3.63. Primasius 2.197-198, on the other hand, depends on Victorinus/Jerome here.

83 1 John 3:1; cf. Primasius 2.192.

84 1 John 2:4, quoted by Tyconius 1.26 (119); cf. Primasius 2.202-203; Beatus 2.3.75.

85 Psalm 33:9(34.8). The reference to hypocrites is from Tyconius 1.26 (119): cf. Primasius 2.199-200, Beatus 2.3.69.

86 The interpretation is a play on the Greek word *thuetos* ('something offered as a sacrifice'). Bede did not draw this information from either Primasius or Jerome. It may have come from a Canterbury Greek–Latin glossary (Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, 171-72). On the larger problem of Biblical glossaries in Bede's milieu, see O. Szerwiniack, 'Des recueils d'interprétations des noms hébreux chez les Irlandais et le wisigoth Théodulf', *Scriptorium* 48 (1994): 187–258.

87 Rom. 12:1.

88 Rev. 2:23.

AND HIS FEET LIKE FINE BRASS …
And by this he shows that *the last works of this Church* shall be *more than the former*.[89]

[[2:19] **I know your works and your faith and your charity and your ministry and your patience and your latter works, which are more than the former.]** [2:20] **BUT I HAVE AGAINST YOU A FEW THINGS, BECAUSE YOU SUFFER THE WOMAN JEZEBEL, WHO CALLS HERSELF A PROPHETESS, TO TEACH …**
Indeed, you are praiseworthy for your faith and work, but you are blameworthy in this: that you do not confront and accuse as they deserve the synagogue of the pseudo-apostle, which makes itself out to be Christian.[90] ***/261/*** The name Jezebel, which means *'flow of blood'*,[91] is fitting for heretics.[92] It *was particularly applied to a woman in the above-mentioned church* who taught notorious villainies. She is the *symbol* of the *whole Jezebel* throughout the *world*,[93] whom [the Spirit] threatens with open vengeance.

AND TO SEDUCE MY SERVANTS, TO COMMIT FORNICATION, AND TO EAT THINGS SACRIFICED TO IDOLS.
Under the name of Christ, she expressly preached idolatry and spiritual fornication. For how could she, who called herself a prophetess in the Church, openly teach the worship of idols?[94]

[[2:21] **And I gave her time that she might repent; and she did not repent of her fornication.]** [2:22] **BEHOLD, I WILL THROW HER ONTO A BED; [and they that commit adultery with her shall be in very great tribulation, unless they repent their deeds.]**
By the righteous judgement of God, she who prostrated wretched men on the couch of lust is cast onto a bed of eternal punishment.

[2:23] **AND I WILL [THROW][95] HER CHILDREN INTO DEATH; …**
He calls this woman's followers and her works 'children'. He threatens

89 Rev. 2:19.
90 Tyconius 1.27 (121): cf. Tur. fr. 12; Caesarius 217.22; Beatus 2.4.17.
91 Jerome, *Lib. int.* 160.20.
92 Cf. Caesarius 217.21-23.
93 Primasius 2.229-232, ultimately from Tyconius 1.27 (120): cf. Tyconius (Tur. fr). 1. A good illustration of Tyconius's idea of the 'mystery of iniquity'.
94 Tyconius 1.27 (121): cf. Tyconius (Tur. fr.) 13-14 and Beatus 2.4.45-46. More condensed in Primasius 2.260-261.
95 This word is omitted in virtually all witnesses: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 183.

them, not with the passing death of the body, but with the eternal death of the soul.[96]

AND ALL THE CHURCHES SHALL KNOW THAT I AM HE THAT SEARCHES THE REINS AND HEARTS. [And I will give to every one of you according to your works.]

In the reins,[97] he indicates desires; in the heart, thoughts. *What we do and what we say can be known to people; but what takes place in the soul, and what we desire to attain by it, is known to [God] alone*[98] who perceives what each one thinks, and what each one finds desirable. But how is it logical that he who punishes fornication and idolatry, which are manifest crimes, is said ***/263/*** to know hidden [crimes], unless this is what even the least of sins is called?[99] He says, *You have destroyed all them that go a-whoring from you*.[100] Likewise the apostle John, who had heard this, says when discussing false brothers, *Little children, keep yourself from idols*.[101]

[2:24] **AND I SAY TO THE REST OF YOU WHO ARE AT THYATIRA: …**

Just as he urges penance and threatens punishment upon the wicked, so also he encourages the devout to be patient with eternal rewards.

[Who do not hold this teaching and] WHO HAVE NOT KNOWN THE DEPTHS OF SATAN, [as they say:]

Indeed, *they never gave their assent by any kind of agreement*.[102] *Thus those who work iniquity do not know God, though they preach him. Likewise God, though he knows everyone, does not know the workers of iniquity*.[103]

96 Primasius 3.274-276. Ultimately from Tyconius 1.28 (122); cf. Tyconius (Tur. fr.) 22, Beatus 2.4.61.

97 The archaic word 'reins' literally means 'kidneys' or more broadly, 'loins', but in Biblical language refers to the seat of the affections or passions.

98 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 7.9, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1961), 43.42-45.

99 Bede's exegesis resembles slightly Tyconius's (Tur. fr. 20) and Primasius 2.283-289.

100 Ps. 72(73):27. Primasius cites this Psalm in his explanation of Rev. 2:14 (2.169-170) and 2:21 (2.260).

101 Tyconius 1.27 (121), Tur. fr. 15, citing 1 John 5:21; cf. Beatus 2.4.48.

102 Primasius 2.295-296. Ultimately from Tyconius 1.30 (123); cf. Tur. fr. 29; Caesarius 217.24-25; Beatus 2.4.65.

103 Tyconius 1.30 (123); cf. Tur. fr. 31; paralleled by Beatus 2.4.66 and (more concisely) Primasius 2.296-298.

[2:25] **I WILL NOT PUT UPON YOU ANY OTHER BURDEN. BUT WHAT YOU HAVE, HOLD FAST TILL I COME.**
I *will not suffer you to be tempted beyond that which you are able [to bear]*.[104] Or else, *Beware of false prophets*.[105] For I do not give you a new teaching, but what you have received, preserve it to the end.

[2:26] **AND HE THAT SHALL OVERCOME falsehood AND KEEP my commandments [to the end], shall be granted a just reward.**
I WILL GIVE HIM POWER OVER THE NATIONS.
The Church has this power in Christ as the body in the head. In him, according to the Apostle, God 'has given us all things'.[106] ***/265/***

[2:27] **AND HE SHALL RULE THEM WITH A ROD OF IRON; AND AS THE VESSEL OF A POTTER THEY SHALL BE BROKEN;**
He rules *the meek* with *inflexible justice*, that they might produce more fruit. He *destroys the arrogant*[107] so that they either perish for ever, or else *earthly desires in them are dashed to pieces, and the dirty doings of the old man, and whatever is of sinful clay, are reduced and ground under*.[108]

[2:28] **[As I have received from my Father.] AND I WILL GIVE HIM THE MORNING STAR. [[2:29 [He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches:]**
Christ is the morning star[109] who, when the night of this world is past, promises and flings open to the saints the eternal light of life.

104 1 Cor. 10:13. The last half of the verse is quoted by Tyconius 1.31 (123); cf. Tur. fr. 35, Caesarius 217.25-26, Beatus 2.4.73.

105 Matt. 7:15.

106 Primasius 2.306-307, 309-310, quoting Rom. 8:32; cf. almost identical wording in Caesarius 218.2-3. The common source is Tyconius 1.32; cf. Tur. fr. 37, 39.

107 Primasius 2. 310-311; Gryson suggests that the ultimate source may be Tyconius, as there is a parallel concept in Caesarius 218.4-5, though there is no echo in the Turin Fragments or Beatus.

108 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 2.8 (5.2-5). The 'old man' here refers to the 'old Adam' or unregenerate human being.

109 Tyconius 1.33 (123); cf. Tur. fr. 40; *Lib. reg.* 7 (71.28-29). Paralleled in Primasius 2.312-15, and echoed more distantly by Beatus 2.4.79. Bonner (*Saint Bede*, pp. 9–10) relates the idea of the darkness of the world and the breaking dawn of eternal life to Bede's account of the vision of the dying nun of Barking in *HE* 4.6. This entire sentence, in a different translation, was chosen for the splendid modern inscription by George Pace and Frank Roper over the tomb of Bede in the Galilee of Durham Cathedral.

[3:1] **AND TO THE ANGEL OF THE CHURCH OF SARDIS WRITE: …**
He takes to task this angel, that is, the priest who is less than diligent in correcting evil. But he praises [the Church] as having some who walk in white garments, and this agrees with the name of Sardis, which is a precious stone.[110]

[These things says he who has the seven spirits of God and the seven stars:] I KNOW YOUR WORKS, THAT YOU HAVE THE NAME OF BEING ALIVE; AND YOU ARE DEAD. [[3:2] **Be watchful and strengthen the things that remain, which are ready to die.]**
It seems to you that you are alive, but if you are not vigilant to correct the wicked, you will be reckoned as already amongst the dead.

FOR I FIND NOT YOUR WORKS PERFECT BEFORE MY GOD.
Although he seems to be blameless before men, the works of a leader[111] are not perfect before God if he does not exert himself to stir up others.

[3:3] [**Have in mind therefore in what manner you have received and heard; and preserve it and do penance. If then you do not keep watch,] I WILL COME TO YOU AS A THIEF; [and you shall not know at what hour I will come to you.]**
Just as in the Gospel parable, so also here he admonishes us to keep watch by means of the analogy of bewaring a thief.[112] ***/267/***

[3:4] **BUT YOU HAVE A FEW NAMES IN SARDIS WHICH HAVE NOT DEFILED THEIR GARMENTS; [and they shall walk with me in white, because they are worthy.]**
He did not say 'a few' but *a few names*. For *he calls his own sheep by name*,[113] who knew Moses by name,[114] and who writes the names of the saints in heaven.[115]

110 Cf. Rev. 21:10. Primasius, however, provides a different etymology (3.161), corresponding to Jerome, *Lib. int.* 160.4.

111 *rector*, i.e. a ruler, and particularly a ruler of the Church, a cleric holding office; sometimes synonymous with 'a bishop': see Robert A. Markus, 'Gregory the Great's *rector* and his Genesis', *Grégoire le Grand*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet and Stan Pellistrandi (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1986), pp. 137–146.

112 Cf. Matt. 24:42-44, Luke 12:39-40.

113 John 10:3.

114 Cf. Exod. 3:4, 33:12, 17.

115 Cf. Luke 10:20.

[3:5] **HE THAT SHALL CONQUER SHALL THUS BE CLOTHED IN WHITE GARMENTS, [and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life; and I will confess his name before my Father and before his angels.** [3:6] **He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the Churches.]**
He invites everyone to imitate those[116] who have kept unspotted *the silken robe of baptism*.[117]

[3:7] **AND TO THE ANGEL OF THE CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA, WRITE: …**
Philadelphia means 'brotherly love',[118] to which [Church] the doors of the kingdom are open, and the promise given that it shall be beloved of the Lord.

THESE THINGS SAYS THE HOLY ONE AND THE TRUE ONE, WHO HAS THE KEY OF DAVID, …
That is, royal power, either because Christ was born of David's *line* or because the prophecy of *David is revealed* in Christ's *dispensation*.[119]

HE WHO OPENS AND NO MAN SHUTS, SHUTS AND NO MAN OPENS:
The secrets of the divine law are revealed to the faithful by the power of Christ alone, and they are closed to unbelievers.[120]

[3:8] **[I know your works.] BEHOLD, I HAVE PLACED BEFORE YOU A DOOR OPENED, WHICH NO MAN CAN SHUT; …**
The *doors* of divine knowledge, which *Christ opens* to his *Church*, *are never shut by anyone's force or effort*.[121]

BECAUSE YOU HAVE A MODICUM OF POWER, AND HAVE KEPT MY WORD [and have not denied my name.]
He shows why the Church deserves these gifts: ***/269/*** *because it trusts, not in*

116 Tyconius 1.36 (124); cf. Tur. fr. 52, paralleled in Primasius 3.33-34 and Beatus 2.5.76.

117 *olosericam baptismi*: Caesarius, *Sermones* 167.4 and 206.2, ed. G. Morin, 2nd ed., CCSL 104 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), pp. 685, 826.

118 This is not the etymology proposed by Primasius 3.163-164, and it is not found in Jerome, *Lib. int.* It is, of course, a direct translation from the Greek: Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 171.

119 Primasius 3.32-34. Glossing 'key of David' as 'royal power' comes from Tyconius 1.37 (125), cf. Tur. fr. 58; see parallels in Caesarius 218.15 and Beatus 2.6.4.

120 Primasius 3.38-39; based (distantly) on Tyconius 1.37 (125): cf. Tur. fr. 60-61 (not in Gryson's apparatus).

121 Primasius 3.42-45.

its own powers, but in the grace *of Christ the king*.[122] *What is praised here, is God's protection and the devotion of the Church, that the gate of victory may be opened by a modicum of faith, and that a modicum of strength may be invigorated by faith.*[123]

[3:9] **BEHOLD, I WILL BRING OUT OF THE SYNAGOGUE OF SATAN, WHO SAY THEY ARE JEWS AND ARE NOT, [but lie. Behold, I will make them come and adore at your feet. And they shall know that I have loved you.]**
He promises this to the whole Church then, for as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, it was not only in Philadelphia that [members] of the synagogue of the Jews [came to] believe.[124]

[3:10] **BECAUSE YOU HAVE KEPT THE WORD OF MY PATIENCE, I WILL ALSO KEEP YOU FROM THE HOUR OF TRIAL, WHICH SHALL COME [upon the world, to try those that dwell upon the earth.]**
Because you have followed my example in bearing adversity, I shall in return preserve you from the blows to come – not that you will not be tried, but that you will not be overcome by adversity. *And although the Church* is always *tried* by adversity, nonetheless this can signify *the hour of trial* and the humiliation of the Jews *in the time of Antichrist*.[125] In what follows, that which is in the sixth place designates the final persecution, and this is the case here with the sixth angel. In this persecution it is believed that some Jews will wickedly deceive and be deceived, but others, by the exhortation of Elijah the great prophet, shall come to understand the law spiritually, and after being incorporated as members of the Church, will mightily overcome the enemy.[126]

122 Primasius 3.49-50. Bede substitutes 'grace' for Primasius's 'powers of Christ the king', a nice Augustinian touch, which may reflect Bede's concerns about Pelagianism.

123 Tyconius 1.39 (125): cf. Tur. fr. 64, with parallels in Caesarius 218.21-22 and Beatus 2.6.32.

124 Tyconius 1.40 (125), with parallels in Tur. fr. 65, Beatus 2.6.74, alluding to Acts 17:1-4; 18:4, 7-8, 24-28. Cf. Primasius 3.55-59, who also links this passage to the final conversion of the Jews at the end of time.

125 Primasius 3.68-72. Bede edits out Primasius's reference to 'internal and external conflict' (*intestino externoque conflictu*), an echo of Tyconius's ecclesiology.

126 On the importance for Bede of the conversion of the Jews, see Introduction, pp. 79–80. The preaching of Elijah alludes to Mal. 4:5, and is one of the main sources for the identification of the two witnesses of Rev. 11 with Enoch and Elijah. In his exegesis of 11:13, Bede identifies the two witnesses as Enoch and Elijah (as he would later in *DTR*), but he does not indicate that their activity is primarily directed to converting the Jews. At this stage of his thinking, Bede seems to have envisioned the conversion of the Jews as taking place through some intervention

[3:11] **BEHOLD, I COME QUICKLY; HOLD FAST WHAT YOU HAVE, THAT NO MAN MAY TAKE YOUR CROWN.**
Lest you grow faint in withstanding, I shall swiftly help you[127] lest perchance you should fail and another take from you your promised reward. Thus ***/271/*** *it is impossible that the number of the saints*, which is fixed by God, *should be diminished by the villainy of the burgeoning tares*.[128] *But if the crown be carried off by another, the place of him who* lost what he once held *is not left empty*.[129]

[3:12] **HE WHO SHALL CONQUER, HIM WILL I MAKE A PILLAR IN THE TEMPLE OF MY GOD; AND HE SHALL GO OUT NO MORE.**
He who has overcome adversity for my sake, glorious in the temple of the Church, shall fear no further blow of adversity. These pillars – that is, *holy men*[130] – *protect* the Church at the present time by supporting it; then, they shall *adorn* it by their eminence,[131] like the two [pillars] in the doorway of the temple of Solomon.[132]

AND I WILL WRITE UPON HIM THE NAME OF MY GOD, …
Because we are called sons of God by adoption.[133]

AND THE NAME OF THE CITY OF MY GOD, THE NEW JERUSALEM, [which comes down from heaven from my God …]
He will be in fellowship with the unity of the Church, generated into new life by heavenly grace.[134]

---

of Elijah not recorded in Revelation, but linked to the persecution of Antichrist: see also Augustine, *DCD* 20.29, where Elijah alone converts Jews. In his later exegesis, he would always pair Elijah with Enoch: Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 109–121.

127 On Bede's replacement of *uenio* ('come') with *auxiliabor* ('will help'), see Introduction, p. 74.

128 Tyconius 1.42 (127); cf. Tur. fr. 82, paralleled by Beatus 2.6.97, and echoed by Primasius 3.78-79.

129 Tyconius 1.42 (126); cf. Tur. fr. 78, Beatus 2.6.93; more distantly, Primasius 3.79-81.

130 (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 203.6-7; cf. Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede', p. 403.

131 Primasius 3.90-92; cf. Victorinus/Jerome 3.2 (43.3-4).

132 Cf. 3 Kings (1 Kings) 7:21; 2 Chron. 3:17. This passage should be compared to Bede's much later work, *De tem.* 2 (ed. Hurst, 198.263–207.603); trans. Connolly, pp. 74–84) where Bede likens the pillars before the door of Solomon's Temple to the teachers of the Church.

133 Primasius 3.100, alluding to Gal. 4:5.

134 The sense, if not the exact wording, comes from Tyconius 1.44 (127): cf. Tur. fr. 92; Caesarius 218.24-25; Beatus 2.6.103.

AND MY NEW NAME. [[3:13] **He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.]**
This *is the name of Christian* – not that it is new *to the Son of God*, who possessed this glory *before the world was made*, but it is new to the *Son of Man who was dead, and who rose from the dead*, *and who sits at the right hand of God*.[135]

[3:14] **AND TO THE ANGEL OF THE CHURCH IN LAODICEA, WRITE: …**
Laodicea means 'tribe beloved of the Lord' or *'they were in vomit'*.[136] For there were people there to whom it could be said, *I will spew you out of my mouth* and to some, *Those whom I love, I rebuke and chastise*.[137] In Greek it means 'righteous people.'[138] ***/273/***

THESE THINGS SAYS THE AMEN, THE FAITHFUL AND TRUE WITNESS, WHO IS THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION OF GOD:
'Amen' means *'truly'* or *'faithfully'*. Christ therefore, who in the *essence* of his *divinity* is truth, declares that he himself was made the beginning of the creation of God *through the mystery of the Incarnation*,[139] that he might thereby strengthen the Church to bear its sufferings.

[3:15] **I KNOW YOUR WORKS, THAT YOU ARE NEITHER COLD NOR HOT** and so forth**. [Would that you were cold or hot!** [3:16] **But because you are lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will begin to spew you out of my mouth.]**
You are neither fervent in faith, nor totally unfaithful.[140] For were you even now unfaithful, there would yet remain a hope of converting you. But now, because you do not do the Lord's will, which you know, I shall expel you *from the bowels* of my Church.[141]

135 Tyconius 1.44 (127-128), cf. Tur. fr. 94-95, and quoting John 17:6. The passage is closely paralleled by Primasius 3.105-109 and Beatus 2.6.104-106.

136 Primasius 3.66-67; cf. Jerome, *Lib. int.* 160.23. Like the name of Ephesus, this double etymology bespeaks the 'bipartite' nature of the Church. A Tyconian origin is therefore possible.

137 Cf. Primasius 3.170, 174, quoting Rev. 3:16 and 3:19.

138 This etymology is not recorded in Jerome, *Lib. int.* or any other traceable source. Once again, it translates the Greek: Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 180.

139 Primasius 3.115-117, 121-123; cf. Bede, *In Lucam* 1 (1216-1218). On the meaning of 'Amen', see Jerome, *Lib. int.* 159.10.

140 Cf. Primasius 3.143-144. It is interesting that Bede does not reproduce Primasius's biting social commentary on this verse. Primasius blames spiritual tepidity on the complacency of the wealthy on the one hand (cf. 3:17), and on the resentful attitude of the poor on the other.

141 Tyconius 1.45 (128); cf. Tur. fr. 100, Beatus 2.7.3 and 2.7.7-8.

[3:17] **BECAUSE YOU SAY: I AM RICH AND HAVE BECOME WEALTHY AND HAVE NEED OF NOTHING;** and so forth **[and you know not that you are wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked.** [3:18] **I counsel you to buy from me gold, tried in the fire, that you may be made rich and may be clothed in white garments; and that the shame of your nakedness may not be visible. And anoint your eyes with eye-salve, that you may see.]**
Content with faith alone, you lay claim to the riches of righteousness in vain. But if you wish truly to be rich, set everything else aside and purchase the fervour of charity*, tried by the flame of oppression*,[142] and anoint the eyes of your mind, not with the antimony of deceptive ostentation[143] but with the salve of divine knowledge. To anoint the eyes with salve is to win an understanding of Holy Scripture by performing good works.[144] ***/275/***

[3:19] **THOSE THAT I LOVE, I REBUKE AND CHASTISE.**
Do not refuse to suffer adversity, for this is the distinctive sign that you are loved by God.

BE ZEALOUS [*AEMULARE*] THEREFORE, AND DO PENANCE.
He shows that there were people worthy to be emulated [aemulandi] and followed.[145]

[3:20] **BEHOLD, I STAND AT THE DOOR AND KNOCK** and so forth**. [If anyone shall hear my voice and open the door for me, I will come in to him and will sup with him; and he with me.]**
With the right hand of exhortation I knock upon the door of your heart: if you open willingly, you will be held worthy to have me live with you and to be co-heir [with me].[146]

[3:21] **TO HIM WHO SHALL CONQUER, I WILL GRANT TO SIT WITH ME ON MY THRONE; …**
He calls him who sits down with him *a partaker of his power and judge-*

142 Tyconius 1.45 (128); cf. Tur. fr. 103, Primasius 3.157, Beatus 2.7.24.

143 Based on Tyconius 1.46 (128); cf. Tur. fr. 105, Primasius 3.168-169. *Stibium* (antimony) was the principal ingredient in many cosmetics for the eyes, as well as in medical preparations: cf. Pliny *HN* 33.34.102-104.

144 Cf. Primasius 3.150-152, drawing on Victorinus/Jerome 3.3 (45.2-3).

145 Tyconius 1.47 (129); cf. Tur. fr. 107, Primasius 3.171-173, Beatus 2.7.25.

146 Cf. Primasius 3.174-180 (not in Gryson's apparatus). The concept of the believer as 'co-heir' with Christ is from Rom. 8:17. See also Bede's treatment of this passage in *Hom.* 1.21 (151.112-125; trans. Martin and Hurst, p. 209).

ment.[147] *Who has made us to sit down together*, he says, *in the heavenly places, through Jesus Christ*.[148]

AS I ALSO HAVE CONQUERED, AND SAT DOWN WITH MY FATHER ON HIS THRONE.

Our triumphant Lord sat down with his Father on his throne, because after the conflict of the Passion, after the victory of the Resurrection, he showed even more clearly to everyone that he was equal in power to the Father.[149] Note that in the case of each of the Churches, the Lord first displays his power, and then rehearses what is praiseworthy or blameworthy in the Church, with admonition intermixed. Finally he pays out the reward due to each side, which we can understand as both happening in the present, and to come in the future. And when he adds: [3.22] **HE WHO HAS AN EAR, LET HIM HEAR [what the Spirit says to the churches]**, it is doubtless *appropriate* to understand *the ears of the heart*, which *obey his commandments*.[150] ***/277/***

V

[4:1] **AFTER THESE THINGS, I LOOKED; AND, BEHOLD, A DOOR WAS OPENED IN HEAVEN.**

After having described the works of the Church, and what it will be like in the future, he recapitulates from the birth of Christ, saying the same things in a different fashion.[151] In this book, *he narrates the entire era of the Church* under various *symbolic images* [*figuris*].[152] *Behold,* he says, *a door was opened in heaven*. Appropriately, he to whom it was promised that he would see celestial mysteries sees the heavenly gate as he is about to ascend. Or else *the door* is *Christ*: he who *believes* that [Christ] was *born* and *suffered*, scales *heaven*, that is, *the height* of the Church, and (as he says) beholds things of spiritual power to come.[153]

147 Primasius 3.180-181, based on Tyconius 1.49: cf. Tur. fr. 110, Beatus 2.7.29.

148 Eph. 6:2.

149 Gregory, *Mor.* 26.53 (1307.34-37).

150 Primasius 3.186-187.

151 Primasius 3.189-191, based on Tyconius (cf. Tur. fr. 114, echoed in Beatus T. 3).

152 Tyconius 2.1 (129); cf. Tur. fr. 116, replicated almost verbatim in Primasius 4.5-6 and Beatus 3.1.3. The Tur. fr. break off here and pick up again at Rev. 7:16.

153 Tyconius 2.2 (129-130); cf. Primasius 4.6-9, Beatus 3.1.3-4. The word 'height' (*altitudinem*) however is found only in Caesarius 219.5-6, 10-12.

[And the first voice which I heard, speaking with me like a trumpet, said: Come up here and I will show you the things which take place after this.][4:2] **AND IMMEDIATELY I WAS IN THE SPIRIT.**
And the first voice which I heard is the same as the earlier voice that had said, *What you see, write in a book*.[154]

AND, BEHOLD, A THRONE SET IN HEAVEN, AND ONE SEATED UPON THE THRONE.
The Lord inhabits the Church, placed in its heavenly abode.[155] Pope Gregory interprets the throne of God in the vision of Micaiah as the *angelic powers*. *He who presides over their minds on high, disposes all things below*.[156]

[4:3] **AND HE WHO SAT THERE LOOKED LIKE JASPER AND SARD.**
The colour of jasper signifies water; that of sard, fire. We know that judgement is to be attended by these two [elements].[157] *For as in the days of Noah, so shall also shall the coming of the Son of Man be*.[158]

AND AROUND THE THRONE, A RAINBOW THAT LOOKED LIKE AN EMERALD.
The rainbow, ***/279/*** which occurs when *the sun* shines upon *clouds*, and was first produced *after the Flood* as a *sign* of propitiation, means that the Church will be protected by the intercession of the saints whom the Lord *illumines*.[159] It is appropriate to compare them to the emerald, a stone of *an intense green colour*,[160] for the more perfect the faith with which they await an inheritance which shall not fade away, the more mightily they protect others by their prayer.

[4:4] **AND ROUND THE THRONE WERE TWENTY-FOUR SEATS; AND UPON THE THRONES, SAT TWENTY-FOUR ELDERS, …**

154 Rev. 1:11.

155 Cf. Primasius 4.8-10.

156 Gregory, *Mor.* 2.20 (83.75-77): cf. *In Ez.* 1.7.20 (111.399–112.405); for the vision of Micaiah, see 3 Kings (1 Kings) 22:19.

157 Primasius 4.32-33, ultimately from Victorinus/Jerome 4.2 (47.16-20); cf. Caesarius 219.15-18, Beatus 3.2.10. Bede compares jasper to water in his exegesis of Rev. 21:19, below.

158 Matt. 24:37.

159 Primasius 4.35-40; cf. Bede, *DNR* 31 (220.2-221.4) for an explanation of the physical phenomenon of the rainbow, and Bede, *In Gen.* 2 (135.2243-2244) for its religious significance.

160 Isidore, *Etym.* 16.7.1. Compare to the opening sentence of Bede's comments on the emerald in Rev. 21:19, below.

The Church, which he saw seated on one throne because of the community of faith, he now sees on twenty-four seats, being generated through *both testaments* by the patriarchs and prophets;[161] and it is seated because of its judicial dignity in Christ.[162] For all *the members shall sit and pass judgement, but in and through one Head*. For how can the saints sit in judgement, [if they are] standing at the right hand of the Judge? [163] *The twenty-four elders can also be understood as those who accomplish the perfection of their work (which the number six commemorates) in the radiant preaching of the Gospel. For four times six makes twenty-four.*[164]

CLOTHED IN WHITE GARMENTS, AND ON THEIR HEADS, CROWNS OF GOLD.
That is, clothed with good works, seeking heavenly joys by mindfulness of the everlasting Mind; for often the word 'head' is used to mean 'mind'.[165]

[4:5] **AND FROM THE THRONE PROCEED FLASHES OF LIGHTNING, AND VOICES, AND CLAPS OF THUNDER. */281/***
This is what Mark says: *And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by signs following*.[166]

AND BEFORE THE THRONE THERE WERE SEVEN LAMPS BURNING, WHICH ARE THE SEVEN SPIRITS OF GOD.
He calls the one Spirit sevenfold, for *there is one Spirit*;[167] but to be sevenfold is perfection and plenitude.[168] The water *of baptism aptly* follows on the commemoration of *the Holy Spirit*, for in it, it is believed, the Spirit *is received*.[169]

[4.6] **AND BEFORE THE THRONE, AS IT WERE A SEA OF GLASS, LIKE CRYSTAL; …**
Baptism *is compared to glass, because of faith in the truth, in which nothing*

161 This sentence fuses elements of Primasius 4.47-48 and Victorinus/Jerome 4.4 (51.6-7).
162 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* V (see Appendix).
163 Tyconius 2.5 (131); cf. Primasius 4.55-57, Beatus 3.2.29-30, and alluding to Matt. 19:28, Luke 22:30.
164 Primasius 4.58-60, based on Augustine, *DCD* 11.30 (350.5-6).
165 Cf. Gregory, *In Ez.* 1.7.10 (89.217); *Mor.* 3.49 (146.18-19) and 12.64 (668.8-9).
166 Mark 16:20; quoted by Primasius 4.63-65.
167 Eph. 4:4.
168 Cf. Augustine, *DCD* 11.31 (350.2 and 351 24-27).
169 Primasius 4.75-78. The ultimate source may be Tyconius: cf. echoes in Caesarius 220.3 and Beatus 3.2.42.

is seen on the outside which differs from that which is on the inside.[170] Also, the grace of baptism is symbolized by crystal, which is made from water which is turned into ice and then into a precious stone.[171]

and in the midst of the throne, and around the throne, four living creatures, full of eyes in front and behind.

The *light* of the *Gospel* fills all the parts of the throne of God – that is, of *the Church* – with the knowledge of things *past and to come*.[172]

[4:7] **AND THE FIRST LIVING CREATURE LIKE A LION;** and so forth **[and the second living creature like a calf; and the third living creature having the face, as it were, of a man; and the fourth living creature like a flying eagle.]**

These animals are interpreted in many ways.[173] *St Augustine, following the order* of this book, says that Matthew is to be understood in the lion, for he rehearses *the genealogy of royal dignity in Christ*, who *has prevailed as a lion of the tribe of Judah*.[174] For *Judah is a lion's cub*.[175] And in [Matthew's gospel] he is feared by a king as a king, and is adored by the Magi.[176] [In Matthew's gospel] the king settles accounts with his servants,[177] ***/283/*** the king makes a marriage feast for his son,[178] and in the end, the king separates the sheep from the goats.[179] Luke is symbolized by the calf, the great offering under the Law. For not only does he begin with the Temple and its sacrifices, but he ends like this: *And they were continually in the temple, praising and giving thanks to God*.[180] The face of the man symbolizes Mark who, saying nothing of the Lord's royal or priestly power, simply tells the deeds of Christ as a man.[181] The eagle is John, who *with great insight* perceived the birth of

170 Primasius 4.81-83.

171 Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 16.13.1, who drew this explanation from Pliny, *HN* 37.9.23 (180).

172 Caesarius 220.9; Beatus 3.3.19-21, and (more loosely) Primasius 4.139-146 (this last not in Gryson's apparatus). The ultimate source (at least for the idea of knowledge of past and future) is Tyconius 2.8 (132).

173 Cf. Primasius 4.161-162.

174 Rev. 5:5.

175 Gen. 49:9, quoted by Primasius 4.174.

176 Cf. Matt. 2.1-19. The king by whom Christ was feared was Herod.

177 Matt. 18:23.

178 Matt. 22:2

179 Matt. 25:31 *sqq.*

180 Luke 24:53.

181 'These animals …as a man': Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannem* 36.5 (327.10-35): cf. *De consensu evangelistarum* 1.6 (9-10). Gryson cites the first only. Bede probably encountered this material in Primasius 4.166-199, because he reproduced the quotation from Gen. 49:9 (see above,

the Word as a risen sun.[182] The animals signify both the Evangelists and the Church as a whole, whose *fortitude* is shown in the lion, *sacrifice* in the calf, *humility* in the man, and *sublimity* in the flying eagle.[183]

[4:8] **AND EACH OF THEM HAD SIX WINGS; …**

By the perfection of their teaching they raise the Church to the heights. The number six is called perfect because it is the first which is the sum of its factors: 1 (which is 1/6 of 6), 2 (which is 1/3) and 3 (which is 1/2) make up 6.[184] *Another way: the six wings* of the *four animals*, which are *twenty-four, suggest* the total number of books in *the Old Testament*, on which the authority of the Gospels rests, and by which their truth is proved.[185]

and full of eyes round about and within.

Before God and man, Holy Church pays careful heed to itself. The Psalmist observes her inner eyes when he says, *All the glory of the king's daughter is within*, and her outer ones ***/285/*** when he adds, *in golden borders, clothed round about with many colours*.[186] Another way [of interpreting this passage is]: whether you attend to the letter or seek the allegory, you will always find light from the Gospel. Another translation has it *full of eyes in front and behind*.[187] For the light of the Gospel shines into the riddles of the Law, and pours out the radiance of new grace to the world.[188]

---

n. 175) found in Primasius but not in Augustine. However, he then consulted the original text of *De consensu evangelistarum*, from which he culled other details, such as the reference to Herod and the Magi. This assignment of the living creatures to the evangelists differs from the conventional one, in that Mark is usually represented as the lion and Matthew as the man. Bede refers to the criticism he incurred over this passage in the prologue to *In Lucam*, prol. 7.123–10.214. See Introduction, p. 26.

182 Primasius 4.171-172.

183 Primasius 4.173-178, 188-191, ultimately from Tyconius 2.10 (133): cf. Caesarius 220.9-16, Beatus 3.3.22-27.

184 Cf. Augustine, *DCD* 11.30 (350.5-9), Gregory, *Mor.* 35.42 (1802.151-156, Isidore, *Etym.* 3.5.11 or *Liber numerorum* 7.28, ed. Jean-Yves Guillaumin (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2005), pp. 35–37; cf. Bede, *DTR* 8. The perfection of the number six is alluded to very briefly by Primasius 4.58-59. Gryson suggests that the ultimate source might be Tyconius because there is a parallel in Beatus 4.5.3, but admits that this is something of a patristic commonplace.

185 Primasius 4.229-234; cf. Victorinus/Jerome 4.4 (51.4-6). There are, of course, many more than 24 books in the Old Testament, but Victorinus/Jerome specifies that this is the total number of the books of the Law (5) and the Prophets (19, including Apocrypha).

186 Based on Gregory, *Mor.* 19.20 (971.50-59), including embedded quotation from Psalm 44:14-15 (45:13–14).

187 The source of this 'other translation' is Primasius 4.224-225, who cites the received text of the Vulgate as an *alia translatio*.

188 Cf. Primasius 4.234-235.

AND THEY REST NOT DAY AND NIGHT SAYING: HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, LORD GOD ALMIGHTY, [who was, and is, and is to come].
Throughout all time the holy animals testify to the sole dominion of the Godhead, the omnipotence and eternity of the holy Trinity, *with the eternal praise of the intellectual creation which abides in heaven.*[189]

[[4:9] **And, whenever those living creatures gave glory and honour and blessing to him who sits on the throne, who lives for ever and ever,]** [4:10] **THE TWENTY-FOUR ELDERS FELL DOWN BEFORE THE ONE SITTING ON THE THRONE, AND ADORED …**
When the animals are shouting out their praise – that is, when the Evangelists preach the dispensation of Christ – the whole Church, priests and people (for this is symbolized by the double twelve), at once fall on their face, and adore **HIM WHO LIVES FOR EVER AND EVER.**[190] **AND CAST THEIR CROWNS BEFORE THE THRONE, [saying:** [4:11] **You are worthy, O Lord our God, to receive glory and honour and power; because you have created all things, and because of your will they existed, and were created.]**
Ascribing to God what power and dignity they possess,[191] for he made everything out of nothing. ***/287/***

VI

[5:1] **AND I SAW IN THE RIGHT HAND OF HIM WHO SAT UPON THE THRONE A BOOK, WRITTEN ON THE INSIDE AND ON THE OUTSIDE, …**
This vision shows the mysteries of Holy Scripture, made plain to us by the incarnation of the Lord; its harmonious unity contains the Old Testament on the outside, so to speak, and the New [Testament] within.[192]
sealed with seven seals.
That is, either *covered by the whole fullness of hidden mysteries*,[193] or written by the disposition of the sevenfold Spirit.

189 Primasius 4.241-242. Bede uses the example of this verse to illustrate the Biblical use of 'rest' as a synonym of 'cease' in *In Gen.* 1 (34.1027-1032); trans. Kendall, p. 98.

190 Primasius 4.249-254.

191 Primasius 4.260-261. Ultimately from Tyconius 2.13 (133); cf. Caesarius 221.13-14.

192 Tyconius 2.15 (133); cf. Primasius 5.4-6, Caesarius 221.23-24.

193 Primasius 5.19-20; ultimately from Tyconius 2.16 (133); cf. Caesarius 221.25, Beatus 3.4.92.

[5:2] **AND I HEARD**[194] **A MIGHTY ANGEL PROCLAIMING WITH A LOUD VOICE: WHO IS WORTHY TO OPEN THE BOOK AND TO BREAK ITS SEALS?**

He refers to preaching the law.[195] For *many just men and prophets desired to see* what the apostles saw,[196] and as Peter says, *Concerning this salvation, the prophets have enquired and diligently searched*.[197] In Isaiah, this is the book which cannot be opened for the literate or the illiterate, though even there, its opening is proclaimed in this way: *And in that day the deaf shall hear the words of the book*.[198] Ezekiel also speaks of it: *And I looked, and behold, a hand was extended towards me in which was a book rolled up; and he spread it before me: and it was written within and without*. Thereupon he adds what John passes over in silence, namely, what was written in the book, saying, *and there were written in it lamentations and canticles and woe*.[199] For the whole sequence of the Old and New Testament warns that penance should be done for sins, the kingdom of heaven should be sought, and the wailing of hell escaped. ***/289/***

[5:3] **AND NO ONE WAS ABLE, NEITHER IN HEAVEN NOR ON EARTH NOR UNDER THE EARTH, TO OPEN THE BOOK, …**

No angel, no righteous man, not even one who is released from the body of the flesh could uncover or investigate the mystery of the divine law, **NOR TO LOOK INTO IT** – that is, *contemplate the splendour of grace of the New Testament*. Similarly, the children of Israel could not look upon the face of him who bore the Old Testament, which contains the New.[200]

[5:4] **AND I WEPT MUCH, [because no one was found worthy to open the book, nor to see it.]**

He mourns, knowing well the common misery of human kind.

[5:5] **AND ONE OF THE ELDERS SAID TO ME: WEEP NOT; BEHOLD, THE LION OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH, [the root of David,] HAS PREVAILED [to open the book and to break its the seven seals.]**

194 *audivi* in the MSS of the *Commentary*; the received text of the Vulgate reads *vidi*; Sparks, p. 455.

195 Cf. Primasius 5.486.

196 Matt. 13:17.

197 1 Pet. 1:10.

198 Isa. 29:11-12, 18.

199 Ezek. 2:9-10.

200 Tyconius 2.18 (134), including allusion to Exod. 34:29-35: cf. Caesarius 222.10-11, Primasius 5.498-514, Beatus 3.4.98; cf. 2 Cor. 3:13.

He is forbidden to weep because that which for a long time lay under a mystery is now fulfilled in Christ's passion, for when the spirit left him *the veil of the temple was rent*.[201] To him is it said, *Judah is a lion's whelp; to the prey, my son, you are gone up*.[202] He goes on to describe how and where the Lion of Judah conquered.[203]

[5:6] **AND I SAW IN THE MIDST OF THE THRONE AND THE FOUR LIVING CREATURES AND THE ELDERS, A LAMB STANDING, AS THOUGH SLAIN, …**

The same Lord who became a lamb by his innocent death, also became a lion in mightily overcoming death.[204] Tyconius says that the Lamb is the Church, which has received all power in Christ.[205]

HAVING SEVEN HORNS AND SEVEN EYES; [which are the seven Spirits of God, sent out into all the earth.]

The *sevenfold* Spirit ***/291/*** in Christ is compared to horns, because of the eminence of his gifts, and to eyes, because of *the illumination* of grace.[206]

[5:7] **AND HE CAME AND TOOK THE BOOK FROM THE RIGHT HAND OF HIM WHO SAT UPON THE THRONE**.

The Son of Man is said to have taken the book from the right hand of God, that is, *the dispensation* of the Incarnation *given from the Father and from himself*, in that he is God, *for they both, together with the Holy Spirit, sit upon the throne*. For Christ, who in [his] humanity is the lamb, is in his

201 Cf. Matt. 27:51, Mark 15:38, Luke 23:45.

202 Gen. 49:9; quoted in Primasius 5.524-526.

203 Tyconius 2.21 (134), cf. Beatus 3.4.102.

204 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 108. 26 (CCSL 40, p. 1599.25-29). Cf. Primasius 5.526-527; Bede, *Capitula lectionum* VI (see Appendix).

205 Tyconius 2.22 (135); cf. Primasius 5.538-540, 543-545, Caesarius 222.20-21, and Beatus 3.4.105-106. It is noteworthy that here, and in the following verses, Bede does not seem particularly emphatic that the Lamb is a *figura* of Christ. Celia Chazelle argues that during the early decades of the eighth century, Wearmouth-Jarrow was watching closely developments in Rome, where Pope Sergius I (687–701) had rejected the Quinisext Council *in Trullo*, notably its canon 82, which ordered images of Christ to be substituted for his symbol, the Lamb: 'Christ and the Vision of God', p. 99. Sergius even introduced the *Agnus Dei* into the Roman Mass, an innovation reflected on the outermost fringes of Northumbria on the Ruthwell Cross: see Éamonn Ó Carragáin, 'The Necessary Distance: *Imitatio Romae* and the Ruthwell Cross', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, pp. 191–192. Bede's monastery was without doubt alert to all these developments, but this specific issue seems to have left no trace on Bede's treatment of the figure of the Lamb.

206 Primasius 5.548-549, 562-563.

divinity the right hand of God.[207]

[5:8] **AND, WHEN HE HAD OPENED THE BOOK, THE FOUR LIVING CREATURES AND THE TWENTY-FOUR ELDERS FELL DOWN BEFORE THE LAMB, EACH OF THEM HAVING HARPS AND GOLDEN VIALS [full of fragrant substances; which are the prayers of saints.[208]]**

Although the Lord showed that all the proclamations of both Testaments are fulfilled by his Passion, the Church, giving thanks, also offers itself in suffering, *so that as the Apostle says, it might fill up those sufferings that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ in his flesh*. The harps, in which *the chords are held by wood*, signify bodies ready for death; the vials, hearts *spread wide* by the breadth of charity.[209]

[5:9] **AND THEY SANG A NEW SONG, SAYING: YOU ARE WORTHY, O LORD, TO TAKE THE BOOK AND TO OPEN ITS SEALS; [because you were slain …]**

They celebrate the mysteries [*sacramenta*] of *the New Testament* fulfilled in Christ,[210] *praising that same dispensation which they confess belongs to Christ alone.*[211] ***/293/***

AND HAVE REDEEMED US TO GOD IN YOUR BLOOD, OUT OF EVERY TRIBE AND TONGUE AND PEOPLE AND NATION; [[5:10] **And have made us a kingdom and priests unto our God; and we shall reign on earth**.]

Here the elders and the living creatures are more plainly proclaimed to be the Church[212] which is redeemed by Christ's blood and gathered together from the nations. *He even shows in what heaven they are*, saying: [213] *And they shall reign on the earth*.

[5:11] **AND I BEHELD, AND I HEARD THE VOICE OF MANY ANGELS ROUND ABOUT THE THRONE AND THE LIVING**

207 Primasius 5.574-579. Ultimately from Tyconius 2.24 (135); cf. Caesarius 222.25-30 and Beatus 3.4.113.

208 Bede refers to this section of v. 8 in his *Hom.* 2.10 (247.22-30; trans. Martin and Hurst, p. 89), comparing the Elders to the women bearing spices to the tomb on Easter morning.

209 Primasius 5.587-592 quoting Col. 1:24.; cf. Caesarius 223.7-8; Beatus 3.4.118. The ultimate source is Victorinus/Jerome 5.3 (67.11-13).

210 Caesarius 223.3-7. Gryson argues that Tyconius 2.25 (136) is the ultimate source.

211 Primasius 5.628-630.

212 Primasius 5.630-631. Ultimately from Tyconius 2.25 (136); cf. Beatus 3.4.121.

213 Tyconius 2.25 (136); cf. Primasius 5.632-633, Beatus 3.4.121.

CREATURES AND THE ELDERS [and they numbered thousands of thousands],
Countless thousands of peoples, pouring into the Church, praise God, to whom *all power in heaven and earth is given*.[214] *For if the sons of God are called 'just', why not the angels as well? However, the celestial army could also celebrate by rejoicing in our redemption*.[215] Pope St Gregory explains it thus, saying, *the voice of the angels is the very wonderment of inward contemplation in the praise of the Creator*.[216]

[[5:12 **Saying with a loud voice: The Lamb that was slain is worthy to receive power and godhead and wisdom and strength and honour and glory and blessing.** [5:13] **And I heard every creature in heaven and on the earth and under the earth, and in the sea, and all that are in them, saying: To him who sits on the throne and to the Lamb be blessing and honour and glory and power, for ever and ever.]**[5:14] **AND THE FOUR LIVING CREATURES SAID: AMEN. AND THE FOUR AND TWENTY ANCIENTS FELL DOWN AND ADORED HIM THAT LIVETH FOR EVER AND EVER**.
While the peoples praise God in the Church, the teachers affirm the same thing, and to set an example, worship the Lord together [with them].

VII

[6:1] **AND I SAW THAT THE LAMB HAD OPENED ONE OF THE SEVEN SEALS; */295/ …**
First the seals are broken and then the book is opened: he has reversed the usual order for a specific reason.[217] For the Lord, suffering and rising again, showed that he was the end of the Law. Ascending into heaven, he strengthened the Church by bestowing on it a more secret mystery in sending the Holy Spirit. [218] Therefore he opened the book then, and he breaks its seals now. In the first seal is seen the glory of the primitive Church; in the next three, the threefold war waged against her;[219] in the fifth, the glory of those who triumph in this war; in the sixth, those things which are to come in the

214 Matt. 5:18.
215 Primasius 5.646-650. Ultimately from Tyconius 2.26 (136); cf. Caesarius 223.11, Beatus 3.4.123.
216 Gregory, *Mor.* 2.7.10 (65.53-54).
217 Primasius 5.490-491.
218 Cf. Primasius 5.492-498.
219 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* VII (see Appendix); cf. below, Bede's exegesis of Rev. 7:1.

time of Antichrist; and briefly recapitulating what was said before, in the seventh he discerns the beginning of the eternal rest.[220]

AND I HEARD ONE OF THE FOUR LIVING CREATURES SAYING, [with a voice like thunder,]: COME AND SEE.

We also are summoned by the great voices of the Gospel to behold the glory of the Church.[221]

[6:2] **AND I SAW; AND, BEHOLD, A WHITE HORSE. AND HE WHO SAT ON HIM HAD A BOW, AND A CROWN GIVEN TO HIM: AND HE WENT FORTH AS A CONQUEROR TO CONQUER.**

The Lord rules over the Church,[222] which is *washed whiter than snow* by grace,[223] and bearing the weapons of spiritual doctrine against the wicked, he receives in his followers a crown as victor.[224] Of him it is said, *he received gifts in men*.[225] In these [men], even though he governs from heaven,[226] he was persecuted by Saul.[227]

220 On the Tyconian character of this summary, see Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, p. 129. Bede understands the vision of the Seven Seals as referring to the whole history of the Church throughout the Sixth Age, but only pins the first, sixth and seventh to precise periods; the others symbolize recurring or generic events: see R.W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 3. History as Prophecy', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (1972): 164–165. This historical reading was introduced by Bede into the exegetical tradition: see Robert E. Lerner, 'The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath', *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 54–55. It would be made more explicit and distinct in the twelfth century, and would be incorporated into the *Glossa ordinaria*: Robert E. Lerner, 'Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought', *Traditio* 32 (1976): 116. See also n. 347 *re:* exegesis of Rev. 8:1 below. For a useful introduction to the tradition of exegesis of the Seven Seals, see Francis C. Gumerlock, *The Seven Seals of the Apocalypse: Medieval Texts in Translation* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University Press, 2008).

221 Gryson's apparatus refers to Primasius 6.56-57, but Primasius interprets the animal as the church itself, not the Gospel.

222 Bede picks up these themes again in *De tab.* 1 (15.414-417): 'Surely the white horse is the church. The rider who was commanding it is the Lord. He had a bow because he was coming to make war against the powers of the air; and a crown of victory was given to him because in dying he overthrew the reign of death' (trans. Holder, p. 14). The word-play linking *arcus* ('bow') and *archa* ('ark') is noted by Holder (p. 14, n. 2) and by William C. Weinrich, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Vol. 12: Revelation*, p. 83.

223 Cf. Primasius 6.62-64, quoting Ps. 50:9 (51.7). The ultimate source is Tyconius 2.32 (137); cf. Caesarius 223.27–224.1.

224 The sense of this passage matches Primasius 5.579-581.

225 Ps. 67:19 (68:18).

226 *caelo praesidens*: Gregory, *In Ez.* 2.5.11 (284.295-296). Bede seems to have liked this turn of phrase, for he repeats it in his *In Prov.* 1 (279).

227 I.e. Paul, prior to his conversion: Acts 8:1-3, 9:1.

[6:3] **[And when he had opened the second seal,] I HEARD THE SECOND LIVING CREATURE SAY: COME AND SEE.**
He is bidden to pay close attention to the opposing horseman ***/297/*** so that he may *receive from this foreknowledge a warning* of the Church's adversity, just as he took joy in her prosperity.[228]

[6:4] **AND THERE WENT OUT ANOTHER HORSE, ONE THAT WAS RED.**
Against the victorious and conquering Church a red horse went forth, that is, a sinister people, bloodied by the Devil who rides upon it. Nonetheless, we read in Zechariah that the Lord's horse is red; but that one is red with his own blood, while this one [is red] with another's.[229]

AND HE THAT SAT UPON WAS GIVEN LEAVE TO TAKE PEACE FROM THE EARTH, [and that men should kill one another; …]
That is, [take away earth's] own [peace], for the Church received the eternal peace which Christ left her.[230]

AND A GREAT SWORD WAS GIVEN TO HIM.
…against those whom he makes either apostates from the faith, or martyrs. Concerning this it was said to blessed Job, *he who made [Behemoth], he will apply his sword*,[231] that is, so that this wicked one shall not try the saints as much as he would wish, or so that the vengeance of his fury should be turned back on himself.

[6:5] **[And, when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third living creature saying: Come and see.] AND, BEHOLD, A BLACK HORSE. AND HE WHO SAT ON HIM HAD A PAIR OF SCALES IN HIS HAND.** [[6.6] **And I heard what seemed to be a voice in the midst of the four living creatures, saying:]**
The black horse is the troop of false brothers, who hold the scales of correct profession [of the faith], but who harm their companions by *the works of*

228 Primasius 6.71-75.

229 Tyconius 2.33 (138), referring to Zech. 1:8; cf. Caesarius 224.15-18, Primasius 6.78-81, Beatus 4.1.5-7. The phrase *populus sinister* is characteristic of Tyconius (Gryson, 'Fragments inédits', p. 201).

230 Caesarius 224.19-21; cf. John 14:27. Gryson's apparatus indicates that the source is actually Tyconius 2.33, but there are no parallels in other witnesses, e.g. Beatus.

231 Job 40:19. Bede likens the rider on the red horse, i.e. the Devil, to Behemoth. On the identification of Behemoth as a type of Antichrist, see Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 117–118.

darkness. For when it is said in the midst of the animals, ***/299/*** *Do not harm*, he who does the harm is shown to be there.[232] Concerning the approach of this horse, the Apostle says, *Combats without, fears within*.[233]

TWO POUNDS [*BILIBRIS*] OF WHEAT FOR A PENNY, AND THRICE TWO POUNDS OF BARLEY FOR A PENNY; AND DO NOT HARM THE WINE AND THE OIL.

Beware, he says, lest by your bad example you scandalize *your brother for whom Christ has died*,[234] and who *bears the insignia of the holy blood and chrism*.[235] For both those who are perfect with respect to their merits and also *the very least* – indeed, everyone in the Church who is imbued with the faith of the holy Trinity – all are *redeemed by the* same perfect *price* of the Lord's blood.[236] The perfection of faith and works is appropriately expressed by a double measure [*bilibris*], and not just by a [single] measure, for both of these [*i.e.* faith and works] are rooted in two-fold charity.

[[6:7] **And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth living creature saying: Come and see.]** [6:8] **AND, BEHOLD, A PALE HORSE; AND HE WHO SAT UPON HIM, HIS NAME WAS DEATH. AND HELL FOLLOWED HIM; …**

Worthy to be ridden by Death, heretics[237] who dress themselves up[238] as Catholics carry off in their train the host of those who are lost. The Devil and his ministers are called Death and Hell by metonymy,[239] because they are the cause of death and hell for many. Or it can be simply taken that there [in hell], eternal punishment follows those who here are spiritually dead.

232 Tyconius 2.34 (138); cf. Bud. fr. IIrb21-IIva11 (198), Caesarius 226.4-6, 11-16; less fully in Beatus 4.1.13-14**.** 'Do not harm …': Rev. 6:6.

233 2 Cor. 7:5.

234 1 Cor. 8:11.

235 Tyconius 2.34 (138-139): cf. Bud. fr. Ira1-2 (197), Caesarius 226.15-16, Primasius 6.114, Beatus 4.1.15. The word *chrismatis* is found in Caesarius but not the other sources, including the Budapest fragments of Tyconius.

236 Tyconius 2.34 (138-139); cf. Bud. fr. Irb8-10 (197, 206); cf. Caesarius 225.8-9, 226.16-18, Primasius 6.91-92, 95-99. Cf. 1 Cor. 6:20, 1 Pet. 1:18.

237 The identification of the pale horse with heretics may come from Tyconius; cf. Beatus, pr. 4.8.

238 *palliunt*; a word-play on *pallidus* ('pale').

239 Bede defines metonymy in *De schematibus et tropis* 2.4 (155.53-62) as *transnominatio*, or substitution of an attribute for the proper name of the thing. In this case, the consequences of the Devil's activity, death and hell, stand for the Devil himself.

AND POWER WAS GIVEN TO HIM OVER ALL THE FOUR PARTS OF THE EARTH, [to kill with sword, with famine, with death and with the beasts of the earth.]

Lo, the madness of Arius, which originated in Alexandria, reached all the way to the Gaulish sea [*ad Gallicum usque peruenit oceanum*],[240] pursuing the faithful not only with a famine of God's word, but also with a physical sword, ***/301/*** in bestial fashion. The other version reads *a fourth part* because the three evil horses, trusting in their rider the Devil, kick against the fourth horseman, who belongs to the Church.[241]

[6:9] **[And when he had opened the fifth seal,] I SAW UNDER THE ALTAR THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO WERE SLAIN FOR THE WORD OF GOD [and for the testimony which they bore.]**

He who had said that the Church would be afflicted in many ways in this present age, would also speak of the glory of souls after the suffering of their bodies.[242] He says, 'I saw them under the altar', that is, in the *secret place* of eternal praise. *A golden altar, placed within*,[243] close to the ark of the Lord's body, does not offer to God flesh and blood like the outer [altar], but the incense of praise alone. And they who now *present* their *bodies a living sacrifice*[244] will then, when the bonds of the flesh *are broken*, *sacrifice* to *him the sacrifice of praise*.[245] *Or else this could be a hyperbaton, so that he did not see them under the altar, but rather they were killed under the altar, that is, beneath their witness to the Name of Christ. As it is said of the Maccabees,* they fell *under the testimony of God.*[246]

240 Cf. *HE* 1.8, where Bede remarks that Arianism came from across the Ocean and infected the island of Britain. See Introduction, pp. 55–57.

241 Tyconius 2.37 (140), cf. Bud. fr. IIra13-20 (198); i.e. the North African Vetus Latina text, also cited by Primasius 6.122-139; Caesarius 226.21-23.

242 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* VII (see Appendix).

243 Primasius 6.187 (not in Gryson's apparatus).

244 Rom. 12:1.

245 Ps. 115(116):16-17. Bede is referring to the two altars of the Tabernacle and the Temple. The outer altar was where sacrifice was offered (Exod. 17:1, cf. *De tab.* 2.11; *De tem.* 2.17.6), while the first of two inner altars, closer to the Ark in the Holy of Holies, was for incense (Exod. 30:1-6, cf. *De tab.* 3.11; 3 Kings/1 Kings 7:48, cf. *De tem.* 2.22.1). A third altar, the altar of testimony, stood within the Holy of Holies, behind the Ark.

246 Tyconius 2.36 (142), cf. Bud. fr. IIIva9-vb16 (199-200). The phrase 'to the name of Christ' is taken from the parallel passage in Primasius 6.176-179. Bede quotes Tyconius's and not Primasius's version of 2 Macc. 7:36; cf. Gryson, 'Fragments inédits', p. 223. On *hyperbaton*, cf. Bede, *De schematibus et tropis* 2.10 (158.107–161.172). Bede defines hyperbaton as 'a modification which disturbs word order', and presents several subtypes. The subtype referred

[6:10] **AND THEY CRIED WITH A LOUD VOICE, SAYING: …**
The great clamour of souls is their great desire for what they know the Lord wishes to do. [247] *Nor is it fitting to believe that they would want anything contrary to God's will, since their desires depend on His will.*[248]
How long, O Lord, Holy and True, will you not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell upon the earth?
They do not ***/303/*** pray thus out of hatred for their enemies, for whom they interceded in this world, but out of love for justice – and in this they are in agreement with the Judge whom they stand close to. They pray for the day of judgement, in which *the reign of sin* shall be destroyed, and the resurrection of the bodies of the dead take place. We likewise in this present time, though we are commanded to pray for our enemies, say when we pray to the Lord, *Your kingdom come*.[249]

[6:11] **AND WHITE ROBES WERE GIVEN TO EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THEM …**
The souls of the saints, rejoicing in their blessed immortality, have each of them one robe already. But according to Isaiah they shall, in their resurrected bodies, *possess a double portion in their land*.[250]

AND IT WAS SAID TO THEM THAT THEY SHOULD REST FOR A WHILE UNTIL THEIR FELLOW SERVANTS AND THEIR BRETHREN [, who are to be slain like them,] SHOULD BE FILLED UP.
The longing for the resurrection is not denied, but it is postponed in order *to augment [the number of] the brethren who are destined to be gathered in.*[251] For the *white robes* can symbolize the *happiness* of these souls, when by virtue of the Lord's revelation, they know both that the wicked will be damned in the end, and also that many will join their number through martyrdom, up to the end of the age. *Filled* with inner *charity*, *and content with this solace, they prefer to postpone their joy for the time being, in order to make up the number of the brethren*.[252]

---

to here is *hysteriologia*, or simple change of word order. He would have the sentence read: 'I saw the souls slain beneath the altar for the word of God'. See also exegesis of Rev. 13:8.

247 Cf. Gregory, *Mor.* 2.11 (66.74-89).

248 Primasius 6.210-212.

249 This entire passage is based on Primasius 6.195-199, quoting Matt. 6:8.

250 Isa. 61:7; cf. Gregory, *Mor.* praef. 20 (23.11-12), and 35.25 (1789.31–1790.39).

251 Gregory, *Mor.* 2.11 (190.3-5).

252 Primasius 6.204-208; cf. Augustine, *DCD* 10.21 (294.1–295.10). Bede restates this idea in his *Hom.* 2.12 (263.116-121; trans. Martin and Hurst, v. 111, p. 112); cf. Gregory, *Dialogi* 4.26.

VIII

[6:12] **AND I SAW WHEN HE HAD OPENED THE SIXTH SEAL; AND, BEHOLD, THERE WAS A GREAT EARTHQUAKE, …**
In the revelation of the sixth seal *is announced the final persecution*,[253] and that the world will be struck by darkness and fear, just as it was when the Lord was crucified on the sixth day [of the week]. ***/305/***

AND THE SUN BECAME BLACK [as sackcloth of hair; …]
It is as if the power of Christ were hidden, or [his] teaching temporarily obscured, or veiled in order to protect it when the ministers of Antichrist *are permitted to attack* the servants of Christ.[254]

AND THE WHOLE MOON BECAME AS BLOOD.
More than ever, the Church pours out its blood for Christ. *He says 'whole' because the final* earthquake will be throughout the world, while before that, as it is written [there will be earthquakes] *in* [many particular] *places*.[255]

[6:13] **AND THE STARS OF HEAVEN FELL UPON THE EARTH, AS THE FIG TREE SHEDS ITS UNRIPE FRUIT WHEN IT IS SHAKEN BY A GREAT WIND.**
Those who outwardly appear to shine as celestial beings in the Church, will be proven to be earthly when they are shaken by *the wind* of that final *persecution*. Their works are appropriately compared to the *plump* but unripe, useless, and fallen fruit of the *fig tree*.[256]

[6:14] **AND THE HEAVEN VANISHED LIKE A BOOK THAT IS ROLLED UP; …**
Just as a book when it is rolled up contains secrets within, but nothing is visible on the outside, so the Church at that time, *known to* its own people *alone*, will *prudently avoid persecution by withdrawing, so that, hidden away, it will not be seen by those without*.[257]

253 The ultimate source is Tyconius 2.37 (142), cf. Bud. fr. IIIvb13-14 (200), who in turn draws on Victorinus/Jerome 6.5 (77.5). There are parallels in Primasius 6.214-215; Caesarius 227.8; Beatus 4.3.1.

254 Primasius 6.223-225.

255 Tyconius 2.37 (142); cf. Caesarius 227.12-13, Beatus 4.3.4 (which includes embedded quotation from Matt. 24:7).

256 Tyconius 2.38: cf. Caesarius 227.18-20; Primasius 6.241-244; Beatus 4.3.10.

257 Primasius 6.249-256; cf. Caesarius 225.25-27 and 227.21-23; Beatus 4.3.11. Ultimately from Tyconius 2.39 (142).

AND EVERY MOUNTAIN AND THE ISLANDS WERE MOVED OUT OF THEIR PLACES.
Referring to the members of the Church *by the* diverse *nature of their functions and powers*, he *prophesies that no one* will be *exempt* from this whirlwind.[258] Rather, there will be a dissimilarity of movement: *the good are warned to flee, while the bad must yield* by complying.[259]

[6:15] **AND THE KINGS OF THE EARTH, AND THE PRINCES AND TRIBUNES, [and the rich and strong and every bondman and every freeman …]**
We take 'the kings' to be men of power, ***/307/*** but he wants them to be understood as *drawn from every class and condition*. *And besides, who will be kings then, save the persecutor alone?*[260]

… HID THEMSELVES IN THE CAVES AND ROCKS OF MOUNTAINS; [6:16] **AND THEY SAY TO THE MOUNTAINS AND THE ROCKS: FALL UPON US …**
At that time, when all those who are weaker seek to be strengthened by the example of those who are *most eminent in the Church*, to be *fortified by their advice*, to be *protected by their admonitions* and to be sheltered by their prayers, *they beseech them to fall upon them for compassion's sake, as if they were mountains*. *For the high hills are a refuge for the harts, and the rock for the hedgehogs.*[261]

AND HIDE US FROM THE FACE OF HIM WHO SITS ON THE THRONE AND FROM THE WRATH OF THE LAMB;
So that when he comes, he shall find us not worthy of condemnation, but steadfast in our faith,[262] *with our sins covered up* by the intercession of the saints and *the mercy of God*.[263]

[6:17] [**For the great day of their wrath is come.] AND WHO SHALL BE ABLE TO STAND?**
He who even now will have bestirred himself to keep watch constantly, to stand fast in the faith, and to act manfully. For if you refer this earthquake

258 Primasius 6.269-271.
259 Tyconius 2.40 (143): cf. Caesarius 227.24-28; Primasius 6.261-266; Beatus 4.3.14-15.
260 Tyconius 2.41 (143): cf. Caesarius 227.30-32; Primasius 6.267-270; Beatus 4.3.18.
261 Primasius 6.280-285, including quotation from Ps. 103(104):18.
262 Primasius 6.298-299.
263 Tyconius 2.43 (143): cf. Beatus 4.3.23.

literally to the day of judgement, it is not to be wondered that the kings and princes of this world in their terror seek refuge in the mountains of the saints, as we read happened already in the case of the rich man clad in purple and Lazarus the poor man.[264]

IX

[7:1] **AFTER THESE THINGS, I SAW FOUR ANGELS STANDING[265] ON THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE EARTH, …**

That is, the four principal kingdoms of the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans.[266] Just as he saw, in connection with the seals mentioned earlier, the joy of the victorious souls after the threefold struggle of the Church, so now ***/309/*** he will show the reign of Antichrist through images [*exemplis*]. [Antichrist's] victory will follow that of the kingdoms of the world which precede it, and which have now yielded to the rule of Christ's Church.[267] For strong cases must needs be supported by even stronger arguments.

HOLDING THE FOUR WINDS OF THE EARTH, SO THAT THEY [i.e. the winds] MIGHT NOT BLOW UPON THE EARTH OR THE SEA OR ON ANY TREE.

264 Cf. Luke 16:23-31. The parallel with Caesarius 228.4-5 (and consequent origin in Tyconius) adduced by Gryson in his apparatus for this verse seems strained.

265 The received Vulgate reading is *stantes* but Bede's text reads *stare*: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 183.

266 It is noteworthy that Bede does not follow Primasius here, who identifies the four kingdoms as those of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians and Romans. Jerome identifies the four kingdoms of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (*In Dan.*1.2.31-35 [794.389-401]) and Daniel's vision of the four beasts rising from the sea (2.7.2-7 [838.439–843.579]) as referring to the Babylonians, Medes/Persians, Macedonians and Romans (cf. Bede's exegesis of Rev. 13:2 below), but Augustine in *DCD* 20.23 (742.43) changes the sequence to the one Bede follows here. The only change introduced by Bede is to alter Augustine's 'Macedonians' to 'Greeks' (cf. his change of 'Macedonian' to 'Greek' month names in *DTR* ch. 14: see C.W. Jones, 'Polemius Silvius, Bede, and the Names of the Months', *Speculum* 9 (1934): 52). Bede's treatment of this passage is interesting, because unlike any of his sources, it can be construed to mean that the Roman Empire has ended, and been replaced by the Church. Since Antichrist has not appeared, this is puzzling. Again, in the exegesis of 7:3, Bede alludes to the vision of Daniel, as cited by Primasius, but does not reproduce Primasius's discussion relating the vision to the four world-empires. Possibly the *de facto* disappearance of the Roman Empire in the West allowed or obliged Bede to read the 'kingdoms of this world' in a more generic and less historical sense.

267 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* IX (see Appendix); cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.23 (742.42-50).

Somehow stifling everything by his power, he allowed nothing to breathe on its own. 'Earth' signifies the various regions, 'the seas' the islands, and 'trees' the diverse quality and condition of men. The four angels may be understood in another way as identical to the four winds, following the prophecy of Daniel, who says, 'Behold the four winds of heaven strove upon the great sea, and four great beasts came up out of the sea.'[268]

[7:2] **AND I SAW ANOTHER ANGEL ASCENDING FROM THE RISING OF THE SUN, HAVING THE SIGN OF THE LIVING GOD.**
[This is] the Lord, born in the flesh, *who is an angel of great counsel*,[269] the messenger of the Father's will, *the day-spring from on high, [which] has visited us*,[270] carrying the banner of the cross, with which he seals the foreheads of those who belong to him.

AND HE CRIED WITH A LOUD VOICE TO THE FOUR ANGELS, [to whom power was given to hurt the earth and the sea,]
The loud voice of the Lord is lofty preaching: *Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is near*.[271]

[7:3] [**Saying:] HURT NOT THE EARTH, NOR THE SEA, NOR THE TREES, …**
Since our Lord suffered, not only is the enemy's rule crushed, but so also ***/311/*** the rulership of this world, as we see with our eyes, and as we read concerning the statue which the stone from the mountain split.[272]

UNTIL WE SIGN THE SERVANTS OF OUR GOD ON THEIR FOREHEADS.
The rule [*imperium*] of the Gentiles is broken so that the face of the saints may be freely inscribed with the sign of the faith that [the Gentiles] resist. For this sign of the cross stands for the kingdom of our Lord, extended everywhere.[273] As the old couplet goes:

268 Primasius 7.5-6,15-16, 9-12, quoting Dan. 7:2-3, probably via Tyconius 2.44 (146), as the same verse is cited in this context by Beatus 4.4.1, 4.

269 Cf. Isa. 9:6, quoted by Primasius 7.20.

270 Luke 1:78.

271 Primasius 7.25-26, 30-31, incorporating quotation from Matt. 3:2. However, Primasius does not identify the voice as the Lord's.

272 Cf. Primasius 7.34-35, alluding to Dan. 2:34, 45. The opening phrase, however, is from Tyconius 2.47 (147); cf. Beatus 4.4.14.

273 The scribes of Erfurt, Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek CA 4° 96 (Gryson's MS *P*, no. 30 in his inventory), St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 259 (Gryson's MS *A*, no. 86), and Stuttgart, Württem-

Look at the earth, divided into four distinct parts:
Thus you see that the sign of faith contains all things.[274]

Nor is it fortuitous that the Tetragrammaton, the Name of the Lord, is written on the forehead of the priest,[275] because this is the sign on the forehead of the faithful, of which the Psalm *for the winepresses* sings: *O Lord our Lord, how admirable is your name in the whole earth*, etc., up to the point where he says *that you may destroy the enemy and the defender.*[276]

[7:4] **AND I HEARD THE NUMBER OF THOSE WHO WERE SIGNED. A HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR THOUSAND WERE SIGNED, FROM EVERY TRIBE OF THE SONS OF ISRAEL.**

In this finite number is signified the innumerable multitude of *the whole Church*,[277] sprung from the patriarchs whether by fleshly descent, or by imitating [their] faith. For *if you are Christ's, then you are the seed of Abraham.*[278] This twelve, multiplied by twelve, refers to the increase of perfection, and is brought to a climax in a thousand, ***/313/*** which is the number ten squared and cubed,[279] signifying the steadfast life of the Church. For this reason [the Church] is often symbolized by the number twelve, because it dwells throughout the fourfold sphere [of the world] in the faith of the holy Trinity.[280] *For three times four is ten-plus-two [decus dipondius].*[281] Twelve apostles were elected to preach this faith to the world, symbolizing in this number the mystery of their work.[282]

---

bergische Landesbibliothek HB VII 41 (Gryson's MS *S*, no. 91), added in the margin beside this passage a cross with the four cardinal directions at the end of the arms.

274 No literary source for this distich has been traced. Gryson speculates that it may be from an inscription, perhaps on a monumental cross. Bede could have copied it himself, or found the poem in an anthology of inscriptions and epitaphs (Bede ed. Introduction, p. 165).

275 Exod. 28:36. Cf. Bede's *De tab.* 3 (114.819-823, trans. Holder, p. 131) where Bede interprets the four letters of the Tetragrammaton as an allusion to both the cross inscribed on the foreheads of the baptised, and the mark on the foreheads of the faithful in Rev. 14:1 and 22:3-4.

276 Ps. 8:1(2), 3.

277 Primasius 7.54-55. Ultimately from Tyconius 2.48 (148); cf. Beatus 4.5.1.

278 Gal. 3:29.

279 Cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.7 (710.65-67).

280 Cf. Primasius 7.54-58; Caesarius 273.23-26 (*re:* Rev. 21:13) for the reference to the *orbis*. See also Bede, *In Lucam* 2 (1270-1277); *In Marcum* 1 (1278-1281); *De tab.* 3 (112.752-755); *De tem.* 2 (210.715-725).

281 Primasius 7.55-56.

282 The allusion to the apostles and preaching is Bede's very characteristic addition, and replaces Primasius's correspondence between the number 12 and the proportions of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

[7:5] **FROM THE TRIBE OF JUDAH, TWELVE THOUSAND SIGNED** and so forth**. [Of the tribe of Reuben, twelve thousand signed. Of the tribe of Gad, twelve thousand signed.** [7:6] **Of the tribe of Asher, twelve thousand signed. Of the tribe of Naphtali, twelve thousand signed. Of the tribe of Manasseh, twelve thousand signed.** [7:7] **Of the tribe of Simeon, twelve thousand signed. Of the tribe of Levi, twelve thousand signed. Of the tribe of Issachar, twelve thousand signed.** [7:8] **Of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve thousand signed. Of the tribe of Joseph, twelve thousand signed. Of the tribe of Benjamin, twelve thousand signed.]**[283] He begins, appropriately, with Judah, for our Lord sprang from this tribe ,[284] and he passes over Dan, from which [tribe] it is said Antichrist is to be born.[285] As it is written, *Let Dan be a snake in the path, an adder in the path that bites the horse's heels, that his rider may fall backwards.*[286] For he has chosen to describe the virtues of the Church according to the meaning of the names [of the patriarchs], not [according to] the sequence of earthly generations[287] – the Church which hastens from present confession and praise to the right hand of eternal life. This is what the names of Judah, who is first, and Benjamin, who is placed last, ***/315/*** mean. Therefore Judah, which means *'confession' or 'praise'*,[288] is placed first, *because no one attains the pinnacle of good works without confession. And unless we renounce evil deeds through confession, we shall not be instructed in righteous ones*.[289] The second is Reuben, which means *'seeing the son'*.[290] The Psalmist attests that 'sons' signifies 'works'; enumerating the blessings of the saintly man, he says (amongst other things), *Your sons are as olive plants*, and later, *And*

283 Some early MSS do not truncate the lemma as shown here, e.g. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB VII 41 (Gryson's MS *S*, no. 91 in his inventory), Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. CLIII (Gryson's MS *G*, no. 41), and Durham A IV 28 (Gryson's MS *D*, no. 23). Karlsruhe also flags the patriarchs by numerals in the margin, after the manner of the embedded chapter numbers for the Seven Churches. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12284 (Gryson no. 76) expands on this by numbering and briefly labelling the patriarchs and the etymologies of their names in the margin, e.g. 'I. IVDAS CONFESSIO VEL LAVS', 'SECVNDVS RVBEN VIDENS FILIVM', etc.

284 Cf. Primasius 7.72-75; (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 211.14-15.

285 Cf. Primasius 11.90; with parallel in (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 211.17-18. This was a patristic commonplace: e.g. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 5.30.2. See Introduction, p. 80.

286 Gen. 49:17.

287 Cf. Primasius 7.75-78.

288 Primasius 7.83-84.

289 Primasius 7.119-121; cf. Jerome, *Lib. int.* 160.3.

290 Primasius 7.85-86; cf. Jerome, *Lib. int.* 160.3.

may you see your sons' sons.[291] It is not that he who fears the Lord cannot be blessed unless he generate sons and bring up grandchildren, since a better reward awaits faithful virgins; rather, by 'sons' [Scripture] means 'works' and by 'sons' sons' the fruits of these works, that is, an eternal reward. Therefore Reuben comes after Judah; that is, the perfection of action follows after the beginning of divine confession and praise.[292]

But because *we must through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of God*,[293] after Reuben comes Gad, which means *'temptation' or 'girded'*.[294] After the beginning of good works, a man must be tested by greater temptations, and girded for sterner warfare, so that the fortitude of his faith can be tested. As Solomon says, *Son, when you come to the service of God, stand in justice and in fear, and prepare your soul for temptation*. And again the Psalmist: *You have girded me with strength for battle.*[295] And because *we count them blessed who have endured*,[296] *after Gad is placed Asher, that is, 'blessed'*, and the sequence is quite appropriate. *Blessed is the man that endures temptation; for when he has been proved, he shall receive the crown of life.*[297] ***/317/*** Because they are not anxious, being secure in the sure promise of this blessedness, but rather *rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation*,[298] they sing with the Psalmist, *In tribulation you have enlarged me,*[299] and again, *I have run the way of your commandments, when you did enlarge my heart.* And exulting with the mother of holy Samuel, they say, *My mouth is enlarged over my enemies, because I have rejoiced in your salvation. That is why Naphtali follows, for it means 'breadth'*.[300]

But Manasseh follows him, which means *'forgetting' or 'necessity'*.[301] By the mystery of this name we are admonished that, schooled by the anguish of these present temptations, and *forgetting what is past*, we should (according to the Apostle) so *strain*[302] towards those things which lie ahead that we shall confine our care of the body strictly to what is necessary for the human

291 Ps. 127(128):3, 6.
292 Cf. Primasius 7.250-252.
293 Acts 14:21, quoted in Primasius 7.255-256, 258-259.
294 Primasius 7.192-193; cf. Jerome, *Lib. int.* 160.19.
295 Primasius 7.261-263, 265-267, quoting Ecclus. 2:1 and Ps. 17:40 (18:39).
296 James 5:11.
297 Primasius 7.267-268, 271, quoting James 1:12.
298 Rom. 12:12.
299 Ps. 4:2 (4:1).
300 Primasius 7.276-277, quoting Ps. 118(119):32. However, the reference to 1 Kings/1 Sam. 2:1 seems to be an original touch by Bede.
301 Primasius 7.284; for the first etymology, see Jerome, *Lib. int.* 160.26.
302 Primasius 7.278-279, quoting Phil. 3:13.

condition, *and make no provision for the flesh in its desires*.[303] Sighing for better things, the Psalmist prays for this: *Deliver me from my necessities*.[304]

He places Simeon next,[305] *that is, 'he heard of sorrow',*[306] *or 'the name of a dwelling place', so that by the nature of this name he might teach more plainly both what is to be possessed here, and what it would be well to anticipate later. The joy of a heavenly dwelling place will be given to those whose souls are saddened here with fruitful penance. To them it is said, 'your sorrow shall be turned into joy'.*[307]

Then Levi, which means 'added on', is listed. By this we understand either those who purchase eternal goods with temporal ones – as Solomon ***/319/*** *says, 'The ransom of a man's life are his riches'*[308] *– or those who, following God's counsel, 'receive a hundredfold in this life, with tribulation, but in the world to come, life everlasting'.*[309] *This scripture applies to them: 'He that increases knowledge increases sorrow'.*[310] *For the bitterness of tribulation was added even for blessed Job, so that reward might be given more abundantly to one who had been tested. So, not inappropriately, Issachar, which means 'it is a reward', follows him in due sequence.*[311] *For as the Apostle says, 'The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us'.*[312] *Battle is waged more effectively where one can hope for a sure reward. God works and accomplishes this in the 'habitation of strength', which is what Zebulon means, when 'power is made perfect in infirmity'.*[313] [God does this] *so that the body, which its enemies imagine to be infirm, and through whose matter they labour to introduce the soul's destruction, is proved by God's strengthening action to be invincible, and a happy increase follows.*

The name of Joseph indicates this, which designates the 'gifts *of grace* which will be added on'. *You could understand it to refer to the double return of talents as interest on spiritual commodities, or you may take it*

303 Primasius 7.280-281, quoting Rom. 13:14.

304 Primasius 7.288, quoting Ps. 24(25):17.

305 From this point until 'vesture of gold', Bede is quoting verbatim from Primasius 7.288-322. All Biblical references in the notes below are included in this quotation.

306 Cf. Jerome, *Lib. int.* 160.5-6.

307 John 16:20.

308 Prov. 13:8.

309 Cf. Matt. 19:29, Mark 10:30.

310 Eccles. 1:18.

311 Cf. Jerome, *Lib. int.* 160.2.

312 Rom. 8:18.

313 2 Cor. 12:9.

as those things offered up to God the redeemer by the devoted piety of the faithful. ***/321/*** *And now, so that you may understand that both the sequence and the translation of the names show that all these, positioned here in a meaningful way, will be at the right hand of Christ the eternal king in the coming judgement, Benjamin, which means 'son of the right hand',*[314] *is put in the final place, as I said previously. As he is at the end of the sequence, so also when death, the last enemy is destroyed,*[315] the bliss of an eternal inheritance shall be given to the elect. *Either each of the faithful shall be rightfully called 'son of the right hand', or the whole* community of *the Church, of whom we sing, 'The queen stands at your right hand in gilded clothing, surrounded with variety.'*[316]

Thus twelve thousand from each tribe are signed, because howsoever faithful individuals advance in virtue, it is always necessary for them to be strengthened by the faith of the fathers, and educated by their example.[317] Because the number twelve denotes the number of the patriarchs and apostles, beyond doubt it often refers to the teachers as well, and often to the condition [*formam*] of the whole Church. For those who are praiseworthy *in confession like Judah*; or who are outstanding in the fruit *of works like Reuben*; or *like Gad are mighty in battling temptation*; or like Asher rejoice in victory in conflict; *or who are 'enlarged' to the generous works of mercy like Naphtali; or like Manasseh are unconcerned with what is past; or like Simeon are sad in this vale of tears (as it were) but ever rejoicing in the name of the heavenly dwelling* ***/323/*** *and sighing for Jerusalem; or who like Levi rejoice in the promises of this life and the life to come, grounded in the eternal good, with temporal goods in addition; or like Issachar are strengthened by the contemplation of future reward; or who like Zebulon lay down their souls for Christ; or like Joseph are always eager for the increase of their spiritual substance and who offer something extra above and beyond what God commands – either virginity, or the greatness of their abilities; or who like Benjamin* wait with unflagging devotion for *the right hand of eternal bliss* [318] – it is appropriate that each of these in their profession, according to the rule of the fathers who have gone before, be signed with the number twelve, and that the perfect beauty of the Church to the sum of one hundred and forty-four thousand be collected, so to speak, from the merits of each individual.

314 Cf. Jerome, *Lib. int.* 159.14-15.
315 Cf. 1 Cor. 15:26.
316 Ps. 44(45):9.
317 Virtually the same phrase is found in Bede, *In Gen.* 2 (138.2365–139.2367).
318 Primasius 7.349-363.

X

[7:9] **AFTER THIS, I SAW A GREAT MULTITUDE, WHICH NO MAN COULD NUMBER, …**
After the recapitulation, which it inserted by way of example, [Scripture] returns to the *order* [of the narrative],[319] and proclaims the glory of those who shall vanquish the evil of the final persecution.[320] And because this follows **– FROM ALL NATIONS AND TRIBES AND PEOPLES AND TONGUES, [standing before the throne and in sight of the Lamb, …]** – it can be understood also in this way: after enumerating the tribes of Israel, to whom the Gospel was first preached, he wishes to mention the salvation of the gentiles as well.[321]

CLOTHED IN WHITE ROBES, AND PALMS IN THEIR HANDS.
By the robes, he indicates baptism, and by the palms, the triumph of the Cross, and that these ***/325/*** *people have overcome the world in Christ. However, the robes could also signify the radiance bestowed by the Holy Spirit.*[322]

[7:10] **AND THEY CRIED WITH A LOUD VOICE, SAYING: SALVATION TO OUR GOD WHO SITS UPON THE THRONE, AND TO THE LAMB.**
With a great voice – that is, with mighty devotion and ceaseless praise – they proclaim that the Father reigns together with the Son upon the throne. Nonetheless, he reigns together with the Holy Spirit. For thus it says, 'To him who sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb', as it is said in the Gospel, 'That they may know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you

319 Primasius 11.222-224.

320 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* X (see Appendix).

321 Cf. Primasius 7.451-454.

322 Primasius 7.459-462. Bede approaches the exegesis of 7:9 in a much more exultant strain in *Hom.* 1.10: 'For now they stand before God's throne, crowned, who once lay, worn down by pain, before the thrones of earthly judges. They stand in the sight of the Lamb, and for no cause can they be separated from contemplating his glory there, since here they could not be separated from his love through punishments. They shine in white robes and have palms in their hands, who possess the rewards for their works; while they get back their bodies, glorified through resurrection, which for the Lord's sake they suffered to be scorched by flames, torn to pieces by beasts, worn out by scourges, broken by falls from high places, scraped by hoofs and completely destroyed by every form of punishment'. (71.128–72.13; trans. Martin and Hurst, pp. 100–101).

have sent'. What is understood, is that they may know the one, true God.[323]

[7:11] **AND ALL THE ANGELS STOOD AROUND THE THRONE AND THE ELDERS AND THE [four][324] LIVING CREATURES.**
By *all the angels* he designates the great multitude of people adoring the Lord. *You that are round about him, bring presents.*[325]

AND THEY FELL BEFORE THE THRONE ON THEIR FACES AND ADORED GOD.
He does not mention that the multitude, or the animals, or the elders adored, but only the angels, for they are the multitude, the animals and the elders.[326] However, in these angelic spirits can be understood what is said concerning those who rejoice in the salvation of the nations: *Rejoice, you Gentiles, with his people*, *and let all the angels of God worship him.*[327]

[7:12] **[Saying: Amen.] BLESSING AND GLORY AND WISDOM AND THANKSGIVING, AND HONOUR, AND POWER, AND STRENGTH TO OUR GOD, [for ever and ever. Amen.]**
The Church offers God the *sevenfold* ***/327/*** praise *of power*, which *she confesses to have received* from him in each of her members.[328]

[7:13] **AND ONE OF THE ELDERS [answered and][329] SAID TO ME: WHO ARE THESE WHO ARE CLOTHED IN WHITE ROBES? AND WHENCE HAVE THEY COME?**
He asks [this question] in order to instruct.[330]

323 Primasius 7.479-485, quoting John 17:3. The ultimate source is Tyconius 2.49; Cf. Caesarius 228.28-29 and Beatus 4.6.50. Here again, in *Hom.* 1.10, Bede shifts the focus to the triumph of the martyrs: 'With a loud voice [the martyrs] sing of salvation from God, since they recall with great thanksgiving that they have triumphed, not by their own virtue but by his help, in the struggle with the tribulations assailing them' (72.139-142**,** trans. Martin and Hurst, p. 101).

324 The word *quattuor* is omitted in all manuscript witnesses: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 183.

325 Cf. Primasius 7.495-498, including quotation from Ps. 75:12 (76:11).

326 Tyconius 2.49 (149); cf. Primasius 7.502-504, Beatus 4.6.67-68.

327 A fusion of Rom. 15:10 and Heb. 1:6; also quoted by Primasius 7.506-507.

328 Primasius 7.509-513.

329 The received text of the Vulgate reads *respondit unus de senioribus dicens*: Bede's text reads *unus de senioribus dicit*: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 183.

330 Summarizing Tyconius 2.51 (150): cf. Caesarius 228.30-32; Primasius 7.540-542; (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 212.24-25; Beatus 4.6.69.

[7:14] **[And I said unto him: My lord, you know. And he said to me:] THESE ARE THEY WHO CAME OUT OF GREAT TRIBULATION, …**

We must enter into the kingdom of God through many tribulations.[331] But who does not know that the tribulation of Antichrist will be greater than the others?[332]

AND HAVE WASHED THEIR ROBES [and have made them white] IN THE BLOOD OF THE LAMB.

He does not say this of *martyrs only*, for they are *washed* in their own blood. But the blood of Jesus the Son of God cleanses the whole Church from every stain.[333]

[7:15] **THEREFORE THEY ARE BEFORE THE THRONE OF GOD; …**

For they are held worthy to stand in God's ministry who are faithful confessors of His name here, in the midst of adversities.

AND THEY SERVE HIM DAY AND NIGHT IN HIS TEMPLE; …

Using our conventional manner of speaking, [Scripture] signifies eternity.[334]

AND HE WHO SITS UPON THE THRONE SHALL DWELL OVER THEM.

331 Acts 14:21, quoted by Primasius 7.546-547.

332 Bede's identification of the 'great persecution' with the persecution of Antichrist is his own addition. Later he will cite this verse in expounding the episode of the slaughter of the eighty-five priests by Doeg the Edomite in *In Sam.* 3 (3070-3074); Doeg is likened to Antichrist in Cassiodorus's exegesis of Ps. 51(52) in *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 97 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), 472.15-16, a work well known to Bede: Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 180–181.

333 Tyconius 2.51 (150): cf. Caesarius 229.2-5; Beatus 4.6.70. Once again, in *Hom.* 1.10, Bede applies this passage to the martyrs, rather than to the Church: 'Martyrs wash their robes in the blood of the Lamb, while as for their members, which "seem to the eyes of the ignorant" (Wisdom 3.2) [to be] defiled by the squalor of their pains, they instead have made [these members] clean of all contagion by their blood which is poured forth for Christ. In addition, they have rendered [their members] worthy of the blessed light of immortality, which is [the meaning of] their having made their washed robes white in the blood of the Lamb' (72.145-150, trans. Martin and Hurst, p. 102).

334 Cf. *Hom.* 1.10: 'To be continuously present at the praises of God is not a laborious servitude but a servitude that is pleasant and desirable. "Day and night", indeed, do not exclusively signify the vicissitude of time, but typologically [they signify] its perpetuity'. (72.151-154, trans. Martin and Hurst, p. 102). The phrase *more nostro loquens* appears in Bede's *Hom.* 1.2 (12.192).

The throne of God is the saints, *over whom* and in whom *God for ever dwells*.[335]

[7:16] **THEY SHALL HUNGER OR THIRST NO MORE; …**
This is what God himself has promised: *I am the bread of life. He who comes to me shall not hunger, and he who believes in me shall never thirst*.[336] *Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall have their fill*.[337]

NEITHER SHALL THE SUN STRIKE THEM, NOR ANY HEAT.
We have passed through fire and water, he says, *and you have brought us out into a [place of] refreshment*.[338] ***/329/***

[7:17] **FOR THE LAMB WHO IS IN THE MIDST OF THE THRONE SHALL GUIDE THEM …**
He says that the Lamb is in the midst of the throne, where before[339] *he said that the Lamb sitting on the throne took the book, teaching that* the Church *is the one throne of the Father and the Son, in which through faith the whole Trinity, one God, dwells*.[340]

AND SHALL LEAD THEM TO THE FOUNTAINS OF THE WATERS OF LIFE, …
[That is,] to the company of the saints, who are the fountains of heavenly doctrine. This can also signify the vision of God, *in whom are hidden the treasures of all wisdom and knowledge*.[341] As David said, *Just as the hart pants after the fountains of water, so my soul pants after you, O God*.[342]

AND GOD SHALL WIPE AWAY ALL TEARS FROM THEIR EYES.
When the fullness of immortal joys has been attained, all sorrow will at once be banished into oblivion.[343] For *blessed are they that mourn; for they shall be comforted*.[344] But this vision of the multitude in their robes can be

335 Tyconius 2.52 (150): cf. Caesarius 229.7, 231.24-25; Beatus 4.6.71.
336 Tyconius 2.53 (150), including quotation from John 6:35; cf. Primasius 7.575-576, Beatus 4.6.71.
337 Matt. 5:6.
338 Ps. 65:12 (66:11).
339 Rev. 5:6.
340 Primasius 7.585-589.
341 Col. 2:3.
342 Ps. 41:2 (42:1).
343 Primasius 7.598-600.
344 Matt. 5:5.

understood to refer even to the present time, when *we are saved in hope*,[345] and hoping for what we do not see, we wait in patience.

[8:1] **AND WHEN HE HAD OPENED THE SEVENTH SEAL, THERE WAS SILENCE IN HEAVEN FOR ABOUT HALF AN HOUR.**

It is believed that after the destruction of Antichrist there will be a period of rest (*requies aliquantula*) in the Church, which Daniel prophesies as follows: *Blessed is he who waits, and comes to a thousand three hundred and thirty-five days*.[346] St Jerome comments: *He says, blessed is he who, after Antichrist has been killed, waits forty-five days over and above the one thousand two hundred and ninety days (that is, three and one-half years). At this time our Lord and Saviour shall appear in his* ***/331/*** *majesty. Why there should be a silence of forty-five days after Antichrist's death is known to God alone, unless perhaps we might say that the postponing of the Kingdom is a test of the patience of the saints.*[347] Note that he perceives the greatest struggles of the Church in the sixth seal, and in the seventh, rest; because the Lord, crucified on the sixth day of the week, rested on the Sabbath, awaiting the time of his resurrection.[348] So much for the opening of the closed book

345 Rom. 8:24.

346 Dan. 12:12.

347 *In Dan.* 4.12.12 (943.671–944.677). Cf. Bede, *DTR* 69 (539.53-58; trans. Wallis, p. 243); Bede, *Capitula lectionum* X (see Appendix). Bede is referring here to what would later come to be called 'the refreshment of the saints': for a full discussion, see Lerner, 'Refreshment of the Saints', esp. pp. 103–105. In each of the sequences of sevens in Revelation (seals, trumpets etc.) Bede interprets the sixth item as referring to the time of tribulation under Antichrist, and the seventh to the *eternal* rest of the saints. Only in the case of the seventh seal does he intrude the concept of the 'test of the patience of the saints' (*sanctorum patientiae probatio*) as a *temporal* hiatus between the death of Antichrist and the Last Judgement. Bede's use of Jerome's commentary on Daniel to expound this verse is innovative, and draws on the venerable identification of Antichrist with the 'abomination of desolation' of Dan. 12:11. There the prophet states that from the time the abomination of desolation is set up, there shall be 1290 days. In the next verse (quoted by Bede through Jerome) Daniel declares that those who can persevere to 1335 days are blessed. The difference is 45 days, which, here at least, Jerome and Bede seem to take literally. Bede will revisit and develop the theme of this 45-day hiatus in *DTR* ch. 69 and in *De eo quod Isaias ait*, PL 94, 708; trans. Arthur G. Holder, *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. 49–50. However, *DTR* adds a qualification: the prophecy of the 45 days does not imply that anyone could count forward from the death of Antichrist to determine when the day of judgement will arrive. This backtracking reflects Bede's post-Plegwin aversion to calculation; cf. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 121–123. By contrast, Tyconius 2.58 (152; (Tur. fr. 128; cf. Beatus 4.7.1), Primasius 8.2-3, and Caesarius 229.14-15 interpret the half-hour silence as the beginning of eternal rest.

348 Cf. Gregory, *In Ez.* 2.4.2 (258.43-45); Augustine, *DCD* 22.30 (866.138-145). This interpretation seems to offset the temporal character of the 'refreshment of the saints' described

and the six seals. *But now he recapitulates from the beginning,*[349] saying the same thing in another way.

HERE ENDS THE FIRST BOOK.

by Jerome. Bede was willing to read the meaning of 'seven' and 'sabbath' in a number of ways: cf. *De schematibus et tropis* 2.12 lines 254-7: '"Enoch, the seventh from Adam, was translated from the earth". This trope prefigures the sabbath of the blessedness to come, which is reserved in the end of time (*in fine*) for the elect after [they have accomplished] the good works of this world which is completed in six ages' (trans. Kendall, p. 205).

349 Tyconius 2.58 (152); cf. Tur. fr. 130, Beatus 4.7.2 and 5.1.1.

/333/

HERE BEGINS THE SECOND BOOK

XI

[8:2] **AND I SAW SEVEN ANGELS STANDING IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD; AND SEVEN TRUMPETS WERE GIVEN TO THEM.**
The Church, which is often designated by the number seven, is dedicated to the duty *of preaching*.[350] Its first trumpet signifies the general destruction of the wicked by fire and hail; the second, [signifies] the Devil who, expelled from the Church, burns more fiercely in the *sea of this world*;[351] the third, the heretics who lapse from the Church and corrupt the streams of Holy Scripture; the fourth, the fall of the false brethren, [symbolized] by the darkening of the stars; the fifth, a greater infestation of heretics, heralding the time of Antichrist; the sixth, the overt war of Antichrist and his followers against the Church, and (through an inserted recapitulation from the coming of the Lord) the destruction of this adversary; the seventh, the Day of Judgement, in which the Lord will reward his own, and exterminate those who corrupted the earth.

[8:3] **AND ANOTHER ANGEL CAME …**
He does not say *Afterward he came*, but *stating that the angels have received trumpets*,[352] he goes back to explain how they received them. For although *the Church preached before the coming of the Lord*, it did *not* do so *everywhere*,[353] until it was strengthened by his Spirit. */335/*

AND STOOD BEFORE THE ALTAR, HAVING A GOLDEN CENSER …
He appeared before the face of the Church, *having himself been made a censer, from which God accepted a sweet fragrance, and became better*

350 Primasius 8.2-5; cf. Tyconius, Tur. fr. 131 (not in Gryson's apparatus).

351 This phrase is found in Tyconius, Tur. fr. 160, but is also favoured by Augustine, *DCD* 20.15 (725.5-6). Neither is cited in Gryson's apparatus. The second trumpet is referred to in these terms in Bede's *Capitula lectionum* XII (see Appendix); see also Bede's exegesis of 8:8, 8:11 and 8:12 below.

352 Primasius 8.13.

353 Tyconius 3.2 (152); cf. Tur. fr. 133-134, Primasius 8.9-17.

disposed towards the world.[354] The other version reads *upon the altar* [*super aram*], for upon the altar of the cross he *offered* to the Father for our sake his own golden censer, that is, his *immaculate body, conceived by the Holy Spirit*.[355]

AND THERE WAS GIVEN TO HIM MUCH INCENSE, SO THAT HE MIGHT OFFER FROM THE PRAYERS OF ALL SAINTS UPON THE GOLDEN ALTAR THAT IS BEFORE THE THRONE [of God].
He offered incense from the prayers of the saints. For the *Church* delegated *her prayers to him*,[356] saying *Let my prayer be directed as incense before your sight*.[357] *He is said to have taken the prayers of the saints, and [also] to have offered them, because through him the prayers of all may come with a delectable savour to the Lord*.[358]

[8:4] **AND THE SMOKE OF THE INCENSE OF THE PRAYERS OF THE SAINTS ASCENDED BEFORE GOD FROM THE HAND OF THE ANGEL.**
Through Christ our Lord, who offers himself as a fragrant sacrifice, the heartfelt compunction of the saints was made acceptable. This *compunction* is born of an inward fire, and like *smoke, is wont to provoke tears*.[359]

[8:5] **AND THE ANGEL TOOK THE CENSER AND FILLED IT WITH THE FIRE OF THE ALTAR …**
Well does he introduce a censer, filled with fire, 'for God does not give the spirit by measure'. We know that properly speaking this was fulfilled in the humanity of Christ, ***/337/*** *'for in him dwells all the fullness of the Godhead corporeally'*.[360]

AND CAST IT ON THE EARTH; …
As the Lord says in the Gospel, 'I am come to cast fire on the earth'.[361]

354 An amalgam of Tyconius 3.3 (153) (cf. Tur. fr. 138-139) and Primasius 8.20-23; cf. Caesarius 229.20-23, Beatus 5.1.5.

355 The variant reading *super aram* is from Tyconius 3.4 (153); cf. Tur. fr. 138; Primasius reads *altarium* or *altare*. Cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 180.

356 Tyconius 3.4 (153), cf. Tur. fr. 140-141; cf. Beatus 5.1.6.

357 Ps. 140(141):2.

358 Primasius 8.24-26.

359 Gregory, *In Ez.* 2.10.22 (396.583-585); Bede repeats this phrase in *Act. Ap.* 2.3 (22.218-220).

360 Primasius 8.33-36, quoting John 3:34 and Col. 2:9.

361 Primasius 8.39-40, quoting Luke 12:49.

AND THERE WERE THUNDERS AND VOICES AND FLASHES OF LIGHTNING, AND AN EARTHQUAKE.
He moved the earth by the thunder of a heavenly threat, and by the voice of exhortation, and by the lightning of miracles, while some attacked him, and some followed him. These say *He is a good man*, but the others, *No, he seduces the people*.[362]

[8:6] **AND THE SEVEN ANGELS WHO HAD THE SEVEN TRUMPETS, PREPARED THEMSELVES TO SOUND THE TRUMPET.**
The Church, set afire by the *sevenfold* Spirit, *prepared herself with confidence to preach*,[363] that it might overthrow the glory of the world, like the walls of Jericho, with heavenly trumpets. For that seven-day circling [of the walls of Jericho] intimates the totality of the time of the Church.[364]

XII

[8:7] **AND THE FIRST ANGEL SOUNDED THE TRUMPET: …**
The *proclamation* of the plagues is appropriately compared to a trumpet, the signal for battle. *Lift up your voice,* he says, *like a trumpet and show my people their wicked doings*.[365] And elsewhere, *Let there be a trumpet in your throat, like an eagle upon the house of the Lord*;[366] that is, proclaim with a loud voice that Nebuchadnezzar is to come to destroy the Temple.

AND THERE FOLLOWED HAIL AND FIRE, MINGLED WITH BLOOD */339/* AND IT WAS CAST UPON THE EARTH; …
That bloody deeds deserve the punishment of Gehenna is conveyed by the voice of preachers who say, *Let them pass from snow waters to excessive heat*.[367] By the word *blood* we may also understand the spiritual death of the soul. Tyconius explains this verse as follows: *'God's wrath was stirred up, that the death of many might ensue'*.[368]

362 John 7:12.

363 Primasius 8.73-75, based on Tyconius 3.8 (154); cf. Tur. fr. 148, Caesarius 230.1-2, 232.1-2; Beatus T. 8.6.

364 Josh. 6:1-20.

365 Tyconius 3.1 (152); cf. Tur. fr. 131, quoting the first half of Isa. 58:1 (Bede fills out the remainder of the quotation). Cf. Caesarius 229.17-18; Primasius 8.4-6; Beatus pr. 4.23.

366 Hos. 8:1.

367 Job 24:19. On hell as a place of alternating fire and ice, see Bede's account of the vision of Dryhthelm in *HE* 5.12 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 488–498).

368 Tyconius 3.9 (154); cf. Caesarius 230.3-4, Beatus T. 8.7 and pr 4.24.Tur. fr. 150 conveys the same idea but in quite different wording.

AND A THIRD OF THE EARTH WAS BURNT UP; AND A THIRD OF THE TREES WERE BURNT UP; …

The life of good men is firmly established in those who teach, and those who listen. *Blessed is he who reads*, he says, *and hears the words of this prophecy*.[369] Now the *third part* of the wicked is missing from both of these. Therefore good earth, *bringing forth fruit in patience*,[370] *receives a blessing from God*.[371] But bad [earth] generates thorns and thistles to be burnt in the fire.[372] Likewise the Father, as a husbandman, cultivates the tree which bears fruit,[373] but cuts down the barren one, and gives it as fuel to the fire.[374]

AND ALL GREEN GRASS WAS BURNT UP.

All flesh is grass, which now *grown fat* with the softness *of luxury*, loses the flower of its beauty under the blazing *sun* of judgement.[375] And as the Lord said, *Today it is in the field, and tomorrow it is cast into the oven*.[376] In this context, Tyconius speaks of the *third part* as follows. He calls the enemies within a *third part*. Again, whoever ***/341/*** is outside the Church is called a *third part*,[377] and *the Church is a third, who* fights *against this double evil*.[378]

[8:8] **[And the second angel sounded the trumpet;] AND IT WAS AS IF A GREAT MOUNTAIN, BURNING WITH FIRE, WAS CAST INTO THE SEA; AND A THIRD OF THE SEA BECAME BLOOD;**

With the increase of the Christian religion, the Devil, bloated with pride and blazing in the fire of his fury, was cast into the *sea of this world*.[379] As the Lord said, *If you were to say to this mountain, Be taken up and be cast into*

369 Rev. 1:3.

370 Luke 8:15.

371 Heb. 7:6.

372 Matt. 13:30.

373 Luke 13:6-9.

374 Matt. 7:19.

375 Primasius 8.82-84, including quotation from Isa. 40:6. Based on Tyconius 3.10 (154), cf. Tur. fr. 152 (but note that the word *sun* is not found in Primasius, nor is the Isaiah quotation in the Tur. fr.). Parallels are found in Caesarius 230.7-8; Beatus 5.2.6.

376 Matt. 6:30.

377 Tyconius 3.10 (154) contains a rather different reading, identifying one third with pagans, one third with the 'mixed body' of good and bad, and one third with the Church. Primasius 8.84-90 says that the Church is one part, the mixed body of good and evil is the second third, and the heretics and pagans are the third; Tur. fr. 152-154 also designate the third third as heretics. Beatus 5.2.1 specifies (1) the Church, (2) the false brethren, (3) 'infidels'.

378 Primasius 8.88-89.

379 Tyconius, Tur. fr. 160; cf. Caesarius 230.11, Primasius 8.103-104, Beatus 5.3.1, and (more distantly) (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 213.19–214.20.

the sea, it shall be done.[380] Not that he was not there before; but when he was cast out of the Church, he started to rage more fiercely against his own followers, inflicting spiritual death upon them in the arrogance of fleshly wisdom, *for to know according to the flesh is death*.[381] *Flesh and blood did not* teach the apostles, *but the Father who is in heaven*.[382] For they guided the ship of faith upon that sea, which *offered itself as a path on which the feet* of the Lord *might walk*.[383]

[8:9] **AND A THIRD PART OF THOSE [creatures][384] IN THE SEA WHICH HAVE SOULS DIED;**
He said *who 'have souls', in order to show that the living were spiritually dead. As the Apostle says of the wanton widow, 'She is dead while she lives'*.[385]

AND A THIRD PART OF THE SHIPS WERE DESTROYED.
The other version reads *and they damaged a third part of the ships* [*et tertiam partem nauium corruperunt*],[386] which signifies that *the third which was dead slays another third*, that is, that which follows after it *by its evil tradition, and by counterfeiting futile doctrine*.[387]

[8:10] **[And the third angel sounded the trumpet;] AND A GREAT STAR FELL FROM HEAVEN, BURNING LIKE A TORCH; AND IT FELL ON A THIRD OF THE RIVERS, AND ON THE FOUNTAINS** ***/343/*** **OF WATERS;** [8.11] **AND THE NAME OF THE STAR IS CALLED WORMWOOD; [and a third part of the waters became wormwood;] …**
The heretics, *whom the apostle Jude calls 'stars of seduction'* falling *from* the heights of *the Church*,[388] strive *to pollute the fountains of Holy Scrip-*

380 Matt. 21:21, Mark 11:23.

381 Rom. 8:6, quoted in this context by Primasius 8.107; cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.21 (738.92), which includes an allusion to the 'second [spiritual] death'. The phrase 'arrogance of prudence' (*fastu prudentiae*) is from Gregory, *Regula pastoralis* 3.11, ed. B. Judic, F. Rommel and C. Morel, Sources chrétiennes 381–382 (Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 1992), p. 320, lines 97–98.

382 Matt. 16:17.

383 Gregory, *Homeliae in Evangelia* 10.2 (66.26–67.27), alluding to Matt. 14:22-33.

384 An omission peculiar to Bede: see Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 183.

385 A blending of Primasius 8.114-116 (quoting 1 Tim. 5:6), and Tyconius 3.13 (155), cf. Tur. fr. 161, Caesarius 230.12-13, Beatus 5.3.4.

386 The 'other version' is from Tyconius 3.14 (155): cf. Caesarius 230.13-14; Beatus T. 8.9. See Sparks p. 478 and Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 180.

387 A fusion of Primasius 8.116-118 and Tyconius 3.14 (155): cf. Tur. fr. 162, Caesarius 230.13-14, Beatus 5.3.5.

388 Primasius 8.123-126, quoting Jude 13 in the African Vetus Latina version. The Vulgate

ture by the flame of their wickedness.[389] They dare not only to falsify the sense, but often the words as well. They deserve the name *of wormwood*, the *smallest drop* of which can render what is very *sweet bitter*.[390]

AND MANY MEN DIED FROM THE WATERS, [because they were made bitter.]

As the Apostle says, *Many shall follow their lusts: because of whom the way of truth shall be derided*.[391] But for the people of God, every spring of water is drinkable, as Moses teaches.[392]

[8:12] **[And the fourth angel sounded the trumpet:] AND A THIRD OF THE SUN WAS SMITTEN, AND A THIRD OF THE MOON, AND A THIRD PART OF THE STARS, SO THAT A THIRD OF THEM WERE DARKENED; …**

The beauty of the Church, shining like the stars, is often clouded by false brethren, who whether [influenced by] this world's prosperity, or its adversity, cause her to shine less brightly by their defection.[393]

AND A THIRD OF THE DAY DID NOT SHINE, AND THE NIGHT LIKEWISE.

The other version reads as follows: *that a third part of the day might appear, and of the night likewise* [*et diei tertia pars appareret et noctis similiter*].[394] That is, *it was smitten so that a third part of the day and a third part of the night might appear to belong either to Christ or to the Devil. It was smitten for this reason, I say (that is, given over to its own desires): so that it may be revealed in its own time by its excessive and insolent misdeeds*.[395] ***/345/***

---

reads *stella errantia* ('wandering stars' or planets): cf. Bede, *Cath. Ep.* 339.175–340.205, trans. Hurst, p. 248. Note that Bede, unlike Primasius, specifically identifies the 'stars of seduction' as heretics: cf. Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede', pp. 397–98.

389 Tyconius, Tur. fr. 167.

390 Primasius 8.132-133.

391 2 Pet. 2:2.

392 Bede is alluding to the bitter waters of Marah, which the Israelites could not drink until Moses sweetened them by casting a tree into the spring: Exod. 15:23-25.

393 Cf. Primasius 8.144-147, 151-152.

394 Tyconius's text (3.17, p. 155): the lemma of the Turin Fragments of Tyconius (170) is virtually identical (*et tertia pars diei appareat et noctis similiter*): see Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 180. The 'other version' appears in Beatus T. 8.12, and in the *Book of Armagh*, ed. J. Gwynn (Dublin: Hodges & Figgis, 1913): see Sparks, p. 479. The text of Primasius (see following note) implies that this is his reading, even though his lemma is different.

395 Primasius 8.172-174, 176-178, based on Tyconius 3.17 (156): cf. Tur. fr. 173-174; Caesarius 230.26–231.1; Beatus 5.5.4-5.

[8:13] **AND I BEHELD, AND HEARD THE VOICE OF AN EAGLE FLYING THROUGH THE MIDST OF HEAVEN, [saying with a loud voice]: WOE, WOE, WOE, TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE EARTH, …**

The voice of this eagle soars every day through the mouth of eminent teachers in the Church, when they preach the wickedness of the heretics, the ferocity of Antichrist, and the Day of Judgement which with all severity is to come to those who love the earth[396] – saying, *In the last days shall come dangerous times, for men shall be lovers of themselves*,[397] and later on, *men corrupted in mind, reprobate concerning the faith*,[398] and elsewhere, *then shall the man of sin be revealed …who opposes and is lifted up above all that is called God or that is worshipped*,[399] and again, *The day of the Lord shall come as a thief in the night. For when they shall say, Peace and security; then shall sudden destruction come upon them*.[400]

BECAUSE OF THE REMAINING VOICES OF THE THREE ANGELS, [who are yet to sound the trumpet.]

The trumpets of the angels do not bring the plagues into the world, but rather, each of them proclaims those that are coming, or shall come, in its own time.

XIII

[9:1] **[And the fifth angel sounded the trumpet:] AND I SAW A STAR THAT HAD FALLEN FROM HEAVEN TO EARTH; AND THERE WAS GIVEN TO HIM THE KEY OF THE BOTTOMLESS PIT.** [9:2] **AND HE OPENED THE BOTTOMLESS PIT; …**

[This is] the flame of the heretics, to which he had referred briefly; [now] he explains with what tinder it has increased. The ancient foe, whom the Lord *beheld as lightning falling from heaven*,[401] *opened the hearts* of his followers

396 Based on Tyconius 3.18 (156): cf. Tur. fr. 177, Caesarius 231.3-6, 232.22-26, Primasius 8.183-185, 189-191. It is noteworthy that for Bede, these three elements – heresy, the persecutions of Antichrist, and the Judgement – constitute the core of the apocalyptic terrors of the Last Days. Neither Tyconius nor Primasius specifies these things. That this is Bede's personal exegetical signature is borne out by the exegesis of the following verses.

397 2 Tim. 3:1-2.

398 2 Tim. 3:8.

399 2 Thess. 2:8, 4.

400 1 Thess. 5:2-3.

401 Luke 10:18.

by his blasphemous teaching, and taught[402] them to seek the heights like smoke, and speak wickedness against the Most High. ***/347/***

AND THE SMOKE OF THE PIT AROSE, LIKE THE SMOKE OF A GREAT FURNACE; AND THE SUN AND THE AIR WERE DARKENED WITH THE SMOKE OF THE PIT.

The prophecy of the great furnace – that is, the *final persecution* – burns with heretical *madness*[403] not only the weaker brethren who, like the air, touch the confines of both earth and heaven,[404] but also strives to obscure the light of the loftier ones, though it is incapable of extinguishing it. *For if it were possible, even the elect shall be deceived*.[405]

[9:3] **AND FROM THE SMOKE OF THE PIT LOCUSTS CAME OUT UPON THE EARTH; …**

Just as the saints *are the body of Christ, and members of one another*,[406] so the members of the flesh of the dragon bind themselves to one another,[407] and are born from one another, and the smoke of heretical *blindness* generates from his mouth the harmful pride of the depraved.[408] These, though buffeted by the wind of elation, do not spurn the earthly realms. For the *smoke* from which they are spawned, though it *aspires to the heavens*, always *subsides*.[409]

AND POWER WAS GIVEN TO THEM, AS THE SCORPIONS OF THE EARTH HAVE POWER.

The heretics are likened *to hostile powers*,[410] seemingly harmless to look at, but carrying poison in their tails.[411]

402 Based on Tyconius 3.20 (156), but the reference to 'blasphemy' is found only in Tur. fr. 181-184; cf. Caesarius 233.1-8, 236.6-12.

403 Tyconius, Tur. fr. 188-189; cf. Primasius 9.51-53; Beatus 5.6.10. Only Bede qualifies the 'madness' as 'heretical'.

404 Bede understands the atmosphere to extend from the surface of the earth itself to the orbit of the Moon, which is the lower boundary of the heavens: see *DNR* 25 (216-217).

405 Matt. 25:24.

406 1 Cor. 12:27.

407 Cf. Ambrose, *Explanatio Psalmorum XII*, ed. M. Petschenig, 2nd edn ed. Michaela Zelzer, CSEL 64 (1999), 153.14-18; Gregory *Mor.* 34.8 (1738.1–1739.25).

408 Primasius 9.14, 34-35, 51; the locusts are also identified with heretics by (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 214.5-6; cf. Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede', p. 403.

409 Primasius 9.28-30.

410 Tyconius, Tur. fr. 191. Note that as in the 'wormwood' verse above, Bede adds the reference to the heretics.

411 Possibly from Tyconius, as there is a parallel in Beatus 5.6.14. However, Gryson does not record this in his critical edition of Tyconius (p. 157).

[9:4] **AND THEY WERE COMMANDED NOT TO HURT THE GRASS OF THE EARTH NOR ANY GREEN THING [nor any tree; …]**
He shows that the locusts are men,[412] sent *not* against *grass, but* against *men*.[413] In this context, we take *grass* literally.[414]

BUT ONLY THE MEN WHO HAVE NOT THE SIGN OF GOD ON THEIR FOREHEADS.
These men are said to have the sign of God upon their foreheads, who have obtained it as they deserve.[415] The angel who carried from the east the sign of the living God reckoned their number to be inviolable and fixed. ***/349/*** Here [the author] wishes to use that kind of figure of speech according to which it is said *no man can say that Jesus is Lord except by the Holy Ghost*,[416] that is, truly and perfectly.

[9:5] **AND IT WAS ALLOWED TO THEM THAT THEY SHOULD NOT KILL THEM; BUT THAT THEY SHOULD TORTURE THEM FOR FIVE MONTHS; …**
Though the heretics may be permitted temporarily to harass good men with the support of the secular powers, nonetheless, as the Lord says, *they are not able to kill the soul*.[417] By *five months* he signifies the time of this age, because of the five senses which we use in this life.[418] The other version reads *six months*,[419] which is congruent with the same meaning, because of the six ages of the world.

412 Tyconius 3.23 (157); cf. Beatus 5.6.18.
413 Tyconius, Tur. fr. 193.
414 Bede is alluding to his exposition of Rev. 8:7, where 'grass' is a symbol for human beings.
415 Primasius 9.60-61.
416 1 Cor. 12:3, quoted in this context by Primasius 9.61-62.
417 Matt. 10:28. Note again Bede's preoccupation with heretics.
418 Cf. Primasius 9.114. The allusion to the five senses also appears in (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 215.7-8. Tyconius 3.25 (158; cf. Tur. fr. 201), following his principle of interchangeable temporal units, says that the five months are actually five years. It is interesting that Bede, normally so interested in the Tyconian approach to interpreting time-references in the Bible, did not follow him here. This may have been deliberate, given his policy against attempts to pin down a precise time-table for the future. Hence he generalizes the five months into 'the time of this age', symbolized by the number five, which denotes the five senses.
419 Primasius does not quote this section of Rev. 9:5 in his lemma, but he does state that the 'other translations' read 'five months', and that whether one reads 'five months' or 'six months', the meaning is substantially 'this present life' (9.113-116). Unlike Bede, Primasius identifies the 'six ages' with the six ages of human life, not the ages of the world. Bede possibly found this alternative reading appealing because of the symbolic link to the sixth age of the world as the age of the martyrs: cf. the interpretation he offers of the stone carnelian in the exegesis of 21:19-20, below.

AND THEIR TORTURE WAS LIKE THE TORTURE OF A SCORPION WHEN HE STINGS A MAN.
As the scorpion pours out venom from its tail, so the impiety of the wicked wounds from the hind parts when it drives people by threats and allurements to prefer temporal goods, which are behind, to what is ahead, namely eternal goods.[420] The *brood of vipers* hands this scorpion to its offspring, in defiance of the Gospel parable.[421]

[9:6] **AND IN THOSE DAYS MEN SHALL SEEK DEATH AND SHALL NOT FIND IT. [And they shall desire to die; and death shall fly from them.]**
They shall wish to end their wretched life by a swift death. As Cyprian complained was the case in the persection unleashed by Decius, *Permission was not granted for those who wished to die to be slain.*[422]

[9:7] **AND THE APPEARANCE OF THE LOCUSTS WAS LIKE THAT OF HORSES ARRAYED FOR BATTLE; …**
That is, like the final persecutors; in the last ***/351/*** battle, which is about to be described in the angel who follows, he said that horses fight.[423] Or else [it is meant] literally: just as horses act in battle not on their own initiative, but by the power of their riders, so the teachers of evil attack the Church at the instigation of a devilish spirit.

AND ON THEIR HEADS THERE WERE SOMETHING LIKE CROWNS RESEMBLING GOLD; …
The twenty-four elders, who are *the Church*, *have crowns of gold. These, however, [have crowns] resembling gold,*[424] fabricating false triumphs for themselves from a hollow victory.[425]

AND THEIR FACES WERE LIKE THE FACES OF MEN. [9:8] **AND**

420 Primasius 9.85-88.

421 Cf. Matt. 3:7. The 'parable' is from Luke 11:11-12: 'And to which of you, if he ask his father for bread, will [his father] give him a stone? … Or if he should ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion?' Cf. Primasius 9.90-92.

422 Jerome, *Vita Pauli (Life of Paul)* 2 (*PL* 23.19A), quoting (with some modification) Cyprian of Carthage; cf. Cyprian, Letter 56.2.2, in *Correspondence*, ed. Bayard, 2nd edn (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1961–62), p. 153.

423 Tyconius 3.29 (158); cf. Beatus 5.7.1.

424 Tyconius 3.30 (158); cf. Tur. fr. 214, Caesarius 233.29-31, 236.26-27, Beatus pr. 4.36, 5.7.4-5, and more loosely, Primasius 9.128-131.

425 Cf. Primasius 9.126-127.

THEY HAD HAIR LIKE THE HAIR OF WOMEN; AND THEIR TEETH WERE LIKE THOSE OF LIONS. [9:9] **AND THEY HAD BREASTPLATES LIKE BREASTPLATES OF IRON; …**

In the human face, he denotes the pretence of reason;[426] *in the hair of women, unstable and womanish ways*;[427] *in the teeth of lions, wont both to mangle and to carry an innate stench*, the ferocity of their mind and the fame *of their evil teaching; in their breastplates of iron, hearts stubbornly set against the truth*.[428] These, *having an appearance indeed of godliness, but denying the power of it*,[429] *come in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves*.[430]

AND THE NOISE OF THEIR WINGS WAS LIKE THE NOISE OF CHARIOTS AND OF MANY HORSES RUNNING TO BATTLE.

That these powers should so increase into an army is more to be feared than explained. First the smoke goes up. Then it brings forth locusts, which are compared first to scorpions, and then to horses and lions. ***/353/*** Their power would suffice even if they did not come armed with breastplates. Now they are said to be on the wing, and like war-chariots.

[9:10] **AND THEY HAD TAILS LIKE THOSE OF SCORPIONS; [and there were stings in their tails; …]**

Just as a scorpion approaches softly, but strikes with its tail, so the sly wickedness of evil people seems *mild-mannered and harmless on the surface, but when it secretly destroys, it brings death hidden, as it were, in its train*.[431]

AND THEIR POWER WAS TO HURT MEN FOR SIX[432] **MONTHS.**

Again, he alludes to this life, where falsehood can prevail either to snare worthless people, or to torment, for a time, spiritual people.[433]

426 Gryson in his apparatus argues that the source is Tyconius, as there is a parallel in Beatus pr. 4.3 and 5.7.6-7. However, he does not accept this passage into his critical edition of Tyconius.

427 Tyconius 3.31 (158-159): cf. Tur. fr. 218; Caesarius 233.32–234.2, 236.27-29; Primasius 9.136-137; Beatus pr. 4.37, 5.7.11.

428 Primasius 9.145-152.

429 2 Tim. 3:5.

430 Matt. 7:15.

431 Gregory, *In Ez.* 1.9.21 (134.431-432; 135.436-439).

432 The Vulgate reads 'five months', but this is the reading found in MSS; cf. Sparks p. 484, Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 183, and Bede's exegesis of Rev. 9:5.

433 Primasius 9.172-174.

AND THEY HAD OVER THEM [9:11] **A KING, THE ANGEL OF THE BOTTOMLESS PIT [(whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon, and in Greek Apollyon, in Latin Exterminans)].**
By a judgement just, though hidden, God all-beneficent allowed a suitable angel to rule over such people.[434]

[9:12] **ONE WOE IS PAST; AND, BEHOLD, TWO WOES ARE YET TO COME.**
Because he has proclaimed that three woes shall come, he observes that one of these has already come in the form of heretical deception. Two, however, remain. These will fall upon the perverse in the time of Antichrist, and on the Day of Judgement.[435]

XIV

[9:13] **AND THE SIXTH ANGEL SOUNDED THE TRUMPET; AND I HEARD A VOICE FROM THE FOUR HORNS OF THE GOLDEN ALTAR WHICH IS BEFORE THE EYES OF GOD.** [9:14] **SAYING TO THE SIXTH ANGEL, [who had the trumpet:] …**
The sixth angel stands for those who *preach* the *final* conflict, who, with the Gospel serving as a reminder, strip bare the lies ***/355/*** of Antichrist.[436] For the horns of the golden altar are the Gospels which stand over the Church.

RELEASE THE FOUR ANGELS WHO ARE BOUND IN THE GREAT RIVER EUPHRATES.
He shows the extent to which the ancient enemy and his followers shall persecute the Church at the end of the world, who, being secreted in the hearts of the wicked since the time of the Lord's passion, is *restrained by divine power from doing all the harm he might wish. For the Euphrates, which is the river of Babylon*, stands for *the power of the worldly kingdom and the waves of persecutors*.[437] This is the great mountain which he predicts will be cast into the sea, blazing with fire.

434 Primasius 9.178-179.

435 Bede reiterates his specific interpretation of the three woes as heresy, Antichrist, and Judgement: see n. 396 above.

436 Tyconius 3.37 (159): cf. Caesarius 234.9; Primasius 9.188-189; Beatus pr. 4.42. Only Beatus 5.8.1 mentions Antichrist.

437 Primasius 9.199-203, 220. For the sentence beginning *For the Euphrates*, the ultimate source is Tyconius 3.38 (160): cf. Tur. fr. 241-242; Caesarius 234.17-19, 237.4-6; Beatus 5.8.2, 9.

[9:15] **AND THE FOUR ANGELS WERE RELEASED, …**
As is the manner of prophesy, which speaks of what will happen to us, he himself sees these things take place in the spirit. He said that there were four angels, because this persecution will rage in the four parts of the world. These are they whom [John] saw previously, standing on the four corners of the earth, and for the sake of the servants of God who were to be sealed, they were forbidden to harm the earth and the sea.[438]

WHO WERE PREPARED FOR AN HOUR, AND A DAY, AND A MONTH, AND A YEAR, TO KILL ONE THIRD OF MANKIND.
The evil spirits who hunger for the death of men at every single moment of the hours and the seasons, but who themselves are destined to be lost, are then permitted to rage more freely against the Church, and rightly so, in order that she might be tested.[439] What do you imagine they will do when they are released, who do so much harm now, when they are bound?[440]

[9:16] **AND THE NUMBER OF THE ARMY OF THE HORSEMEN WAS TWENTY THOUSAND TIMES TEN THOUSAND. [And I heard their number.]**
This number denotes the grievous duplicity of the depraved army. ***/357/*** Another *translation*, which reads *two thousand thousands*, shows this more readily, for in the Gospel parable *this number* stood in opposition to *a king who had ten thousand* [men]. *In the same way, the duplicity of the wicked resists the simple faith of Christ*,[441] to whom *thousands of thousands minister, and before* whom *ten thousand times a hundred thousand stand*.[442]

[9:17] **AND THUS I SAW THE HORSES IN THE VISION. AND THEY WHO SAT ON THEM HAD BREASTPLATES OF FIRE AND OF HYACINTH AND OF SULPHUR. AND THE HEADS OF THE HORSES WERE LIKE THE HEADS OF LIONS; …**
The evil spirits[443] are bound up in the same punishments as those whose hearts they dominate. *For we read* that *those who adore the Beast* shall be tortured in fire and sulphur, and the *smoke of their torments shall ascend*

438 Rev. 7:1-3.
439 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XIV (see Appendix).
440 Cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.8 (713.54-57).
441 Primasius 9.251-253, alluding to Luke 14:31. The 'other translation' is identified by Primasius (9.246) as the one used by Tyconius 3.40 (161); cf. Tur. fr. 251. See Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 181.
442 Dan. 7:10.
443 Tyconius, Tur. fr. 257.

for ever and ever.[444] Notice that in referring to the plague of locusts, he did not say that he saw horsemen, but only horses. For here the enormous scope of the persecutions shows the overt presence of the power which opposes them.[445] Finally, there are lions' heads here, and there a human face, but only the teeth of a beast. For often the heretics put on a show of humanity, but those who bring on the final conflict shall exact in the form of punishments what they commend by words and signs.

AND FROM THEIR MOUTHS FIRE AND SMOKE AND SULPHUR ISSUED OUT. [[9:18] **And by these three plagues was slain one third of mankind, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the sulphur, which issued out of their mouths.]**

He shows that he used the word 'hyacinth' instead of 'smoke'. These things do not ***/359/*** visibly come *out of their mouths*, but by their *wicked preaching* they bring forth punishment for themselves and for their listeners.[446] '*Therefore I will bring forth a fire from the midst of you, to devour you: and I will make you like ashes upon the earth in the sight of all that see you'*.[447]

[9:19] **FOR THE POWER OF THE HORSES IS IN THEIR MOUTH AND IN THEIR TAILS.**

This means: *in speech and in office*.[448] For *the prophet that teaches lies, he is the tail*,[449] who so to speak covers a hidden and unclean part[450] by the babbling of his flattering tongue, telling the wicked man, 'You are good'.[451]

FOR THEIR TAILS ARE LIKE SERPENTS AND HAVE HEADS; AND WITH THEM THEY DO HARM.

False teachers of the old serpent who deceived man, like those supported by *the patronage of princes*, *do more harm than if they persuaded by word alone*.[452] [Scripture] says: *He sits in ambush with the rich in private places.*[453]

444 Rev. 14:11; cf. Tyconius, Tur. fr. 257, 267, Primasius 9.291-294; cf. Beatus 5.9.1-4.

445 'Notice that …which opposes it': cf. Tyconius, Tur. fr. 263-264.

446 A fusion of Tyconius 3.44 (162; cf. Tur. fr. 266) and Primasius 9.303-304.

447 Ezek. 28:18.

448 Tyconius 3.46 (162): cf. Tur. fr. 271, Primasius 9.308-309, Beatus 5.9.6.

449 Isa. 9:15, quoted in Tyconius, Tur. fr. 227.

450 See exegesis of Rev. 12:4 below.

451 Cf. Prov. 24:24.

452 Primasius 9.311-312, 316-317. The ultimate source is Tyconius 3.47 (162): cf. Tur. fr. 273; Caesarius 235.3-5, 237.15-17; Beatus 5.9.7.

453 Ps. 9b(10):8.

[9:20] **AND THE REST OF MANKIND, WHO WERE NOT SLAIN BY THESE PLAGUES, DID NOT REPENT OF THE WORKS OF THEIR HANDS,** and so forth **[that they should not worship demons and idols of gold and silver and bronze and stone and wood, which can neither see nor hear nor walk;]**

Since he has already described the false Christians and heretics, now, in order that he might define the whole body of the devil, he also makes mention of the error of the heathen. They have derived no profit from not having been slain in these plagues, since it is evident that they still persist in their heathen wickedness. *For not even in that persecution shall the heathen be forced to give their assent to what was described above, but they shall die in their unbelief.*[454]

[9:21] **NEITHER DID THEY REPENT OF THEIR MURDERS, NOR THEIR SORCERIES [nor their fornication, nor their thefts].**

They add base behaviour to impious religion. ***/361/*** Having described the ferocity of Antichrist, he recapitulates, as is his wont, the beginning of Christ's birth and the glory of the Church, in order to show [Antichrist's] ruin.[455]

XV

[10:1] **AND I SAW ANOTHER MIGHTY ANGEL COME DOWN FROM HEAVEN, CLOTHED WITH A CLOUD; …**

The Lord, the *angel of great counsel*,[456] *descends from heaven*, *clothed in the cloud of the flesh*.[457] Thus Isaiah says: *Behold, the Lord will ascend upon a swift cloud, and will enter into Egypt*.[458]

AND A RAINBOW WAS OVER HIS HEAD, …

The promise of propitiation abides around the righteous.[459]

454 Tyconius 3.48 (162-163): cf. Tur. fr. 274, 276, and for the final sentence, 278, Beatus 5.9.7-9 and 16, and Primasius 9.318.

455 Based on Tyconius 3.49 (163); cf. Tur. fr. 280-281, Primasius 9.327-330, Beatus 5.9.17. None of these sources refers specifically to Antichrist, however. This passage echoes *Capitula lectionum XV* (see Appendix).

456 Isa. 9:6; see following note.

457 Primasius 10.3-4; cf. Tyconius 3.50, and Tur. fr. 284. Primasius and Tyconius interpret the cloud of flesh as the Church. Bede seems to have consulted Victorinus/Jerome 10.1 (89.18–91.1) at this point, as the reference to the angel 'of great counsel' is found there and not in Primasius.

458 Isa. 19:1.

459 Primasius 10.7; from Tyconius 3.51 (163): cf. Tur. fr. 288; Caesarius 235.12; Beatus 5.10.2.

AND HIS FACE WAS LIKE THE SUN, AND HIS FEET LIKE PILLARS OF FIRE.
In the glowing face of the Lord – that is, his renown *made manifest by the glory of the resurrection – 'the feet of him upon the mountains that brings good tidings and that preaches peace'* are illumined by the fire of the Holy Spirit and *made as firm as a pillar.* For *James and Cephas [i.e Peter] and John* were seen *as pillars* of the Church.[460]

[10:2] **AND HE HAD IN HIS HAND A LITTLE BOOK, OPEN; …**
This is the book mentioned above, long closed by its cover, which the Lord's grace has finally opened so that, according to the Prophet, even *the deaf might hear the word*.[461] *The comparison of his face to the sun is apt*, for now he holds *the book* open.[462]

AND HE SET HIS RIGHT FOOT ON THE SEA, AND HIS LEFT FOOT ON THE EARTH.
The *preaching* of the Christian faith *spreads over land and sea*. But in an allegorical sense, *the stronger members* are deployed *in situations of greater danger*, ***/363/*** and the others *in situations they can cope with*. *For God does not allow us to be tempted beyond our ability.*[463]

[10:3] **[And he cried with a loud voice like a lion roaring.] AND WHEN HE HAD CRIED, SEVEN THUNDERS UTTERED THEIR VOICES.**
When the Lord *preaches with power*, the Church also, filled with sevenfold grace, lifts up its voice in preaching.[464] *'The lion shall roar: Who will not fear? The Lord God has spoken: Who shall not prophecy?'* [465] Indeed, the seven thunders are the same as the seven trumpets already discussed.[466]

460 Primasius 10.12-13, 17-20, 22-23, including paraphrase of Isa. 52:7 ('the feet of him … preaches peace' – however, Bede has filled out the quotation), and quotation from Gal. 2:9 in the last sentence, which Bede enlarges by adding the names of the three disciples; in so doing he extends the meaning of the 'glowing face of the Lord' to allude to the Transfiguration, which these three witnessed: cf. Matt. 17:1-8, Mark 9:2-8, Luke 9:28-36. Cf. Victorinus/Jerome 10.1 (89.12-13), which also relates the 'glowing face of the Lord' to the Resurrection.

461 Isa. 29:18.

462 Tyconius 3.53 (164): cf. Tur. fr. 293, Beatus 5.10.4, and more distantly Primasius 10.25-27, 30-31.

463 A fusion of Tyconius 3.54 (cf. Tur. fr. 295-296) and Primasius 10.31-35, 37-38. The final sentence: 1 Cor. 10:13, quoted by Primasius 10.35.

464 Tyconius 3.55 (164); cf. Tur. fr. 298, Caesarius 235.21, Primasius 10.41-43, Beatus 5.10.11.

465 Amos 3:8.

466 I.e. in Rev. 8:2. From Tyconius 3.55, cf. Caesarius 235.22 and Beatus 5.10.11. The

[10:4] **AND WHEN THE SEVEN THUNDERS [HAD][467] UTTERED THEIR VOICES, I WAS ABOUT TO WRITE; …**
For he had heard before, *What you see, write in a book*.[468]

[and I heard a voice from heaven saying to me:] SEAL UP THE THINGS WHICH THE SEVEN THUNDERS HAVE SPOKEN; AND DO NOT WRITE THEM.
Do not reveal the mysteries of the Christian faith indiscriminately to everyone, lest they be cheapened, nor shut them off from the prudent, lest they be completely hidden. This is why he hears later on, *Seal not the words of the prophecy of this book.* Both are comprised in a short verse from Daniel, to whom an angel said, *Shut up the words and seal the book, even to the time appointed.*[469]

[10:5] **AND THE ANGEL, WHOM I SAW STANDING ON THE SEA AND ON THE EARTH, LIFTED UP HIS HAND TO HEAVEN;** [10:6] **AND HE SWORE BY HIM WHO LIVES FOR EVER AND EVER …**
The angel swears by him who lives forever and ever, while Christ, coming in the name of the Father, confirms his statements in immutable truth. He says, *Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away.*[470]
/365/

WHO CREATED HEAVEN, AND THE THINGS WHICH ARE THEREIN, AND THE EARTH, AND THE THINGS WHICH ARE IN IT, AND THE SEA AND THE THINGS WHICH ARE THEREIN:
He who stands both on land and on sea, and holds up his hand to heaven, appropriately swears by the Creator of heaven, earth and sea.

THAT TIME SHALL BE NO LONGER;

---

notion that the repeated sevens in John's vision are in fact reiterations of the same content goes back to Victorinus: see Introduction, pp. 9–10.

467 Bede's text reads *locuta sunt*; the received text of the Vulgate reads *locuta fuissent*: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 183.

468 Rev. 1:11.

469 The entire passage is from Tyconius 3.56 (164-165): cf. Tur. fr. 302-305, 307, including embedded quotations from Rev. 22:10 and Dan. 12:4. The latter quotation also appears in Primasius 10.56-57. However, Bede and Primasius quote the Vulgate version of this text, not the translation used by Tyconius. Parallel passages are found in Caesarius 235.24-26; Primasius 10.51-53, 55-57; Beatus 5.10.13-14, 18.

470 Matt. 24:35.

As the Psalm says, the time of the wicked shall endure forever,[471] but the changeable *variety of the times* [472] of this world will cease *at the last trumpet. 'For the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall rise again incorruptible and their inheritance shall be forever'*.[473]

[10:7] **[But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound the trumpet,] THE MYSTERY OF GOD SHALL BE CONSUMMATED, AS HE HAS DECLARED BY HIS SERVANTS THE PROPHETS.**
The mystery which we now preach shall then be consummated, when the wicked go *into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life everlasting*.[474]

XVI

[10:8] **AND I HEARD A VOICE FROM HEAVEN AGAIN SPEAKING TO ME AND SAYING: GO AND TAKE THE BOOK THAT IS OPEN FROM THE HAND OF THE ANGEL [who stands on the sea and on the earth.]**
The Lord lays open the mysteries of the age to come, saying *The kingdom of heaven is at hand*,[475] and *the Church* likewise is admonished *to take up* this same *book of preaching*,[476] albeit these words might apply to John himself, in that he was to return to preaching after his exile.[477]

[10:9] **AND I WENT TO THE ANGEL, TELLING HIM THAT HE SHOULD GIVE ME THE BOOK.**
Let him who desires to receive the sacraments of teaching approach the Lord.[478] ***/367/***

471 Cf. Ps. 80(81):16, quoted in the context of this verse by Gregory, *Mor.* 4.5 (166.116-118).

472 Primasius 10.70.

473 Bede expands 1 Cor. 15:52 by adding a phrase from Ps. 36(37):18. Primasius 10.67-68 quotes only the Corinthians passage; cf. Tyconius, Tur. fr. 309; Caesarius 236.5; Beatus 5.10.24.

474 Matt. 25:46; cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XVIII (see Appendix).

475 Matt. 4:17, 10:7.

476 Tyconius 3.59 (165), cf. Tur. fr. 313; Caesarius 238.7-8; Primasius 10.75-77.

477 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XVI (see Appendix). Primasius 1.31-33 describes how John was released after the death of Domitian and thereafter wrote his Gospel.

478 The substance of this passage is echoed in Primasius 10.86-87; Tyconius, Tur. fr. 315; Caesarius 238.9-10; Beatus 5.10.27.

AND HE SAYS[479] TO ME: TAKE THE BOOK AND EAT IT UP; …
That is: *put it in your bowels, and write in on the breadth of* your *heart*.[480]

AND IT SHALL MAKE YOUR BELLY BITTER; BUT IN YOUR MOUTH IT SHALL BE SWEET AS HONEY. [[10:10] **And I took the book from the hand of the angel and ate it up; and in my mouth, it was sweet as honey; and when I had eaten it my belly was bitter.]**
When you have taken it up, you will be pleased by the sweetness of the divine utterance, but you will feel bitterness when you begin to preach and to put into action what you understand,[481] or so this should be understood in accordance with Ezekiel, who when he had devoured this book, added, *and I went away in bitterness in the indignation of my spirit*.[482]

[10:11] **AND HE SAID UNTO ME: YOU MUST PROPHESY AGAIN TO MANY NATIONS AND PEOPLES AND TONGUES AND KINGS.**
He explains what the book which he has eaten, and the sweetness mingled with bitterness, signify: namely, that after his return *from exile* he should *preach* to the nations[483] a Gospel which was indeed sweet with love, but made bitter by the persecutions he would have to bear.

XVII

[11:1] **AND THERE WAS GIVEN TO ME A REED, LIKE A ROD.**
In the reed, he receives the office of writing the Gospel. It is not superfluous with *futile* elegance,[484] but is like *the sceptre of justice, the sceptre of the kingdom* of God.[485] For it describes Christ's eternal kingdom.

[And it was said to me:] ARISE, AND MEASURE THE TEMPLE OF GOD AND THE ALTAR …
Arise, he said, *not* because *John heard these things sitting down*,[486] but

479 *dicit* is the reading of Bede's *lemma*; the standard Vulgate reading is *dixit*, 'he said'.

480 Tyconius 3.59 (165): the closest parallel in Beatus 5.10.27, but cf. Tur. fr. 317; Caesarius 238.11-12, Primasius 10.87-88. The final phrase ('write …heart') is from Prov. 7:3 in the Vetus Latina translation: cf. Bede, *In Prov.* 1 (5-6).

481 Tyconius 3.59 (165): cf. Tur. fr. 319, Caesarius 238.13-15.

482 Ezek. 3:14.

483 'after his return …nations': Primasius 10.110-114; cf. Victorinus/Jerome 10.3 (93.13-95.3).

484 Primasius 10.116-120, 126; cf. Victorinus/Jerome 11.1 (95.7-10).

485 Ps. 44:7 (45:6); Heb. 1:8.

486 Tyconius 3.61 (166): cf. Tur. fr. 325; Caesarius 238.23-24; Beatus 5.10.39.

because ***/369/*** the hearts of all are roused by this word to measure the text of the Gospel and its deeds. For there they find how far each has made progress, and the extent to which they are in agreement with the divine rule.[487]

AND THEM THAT WORSHIP THEREIN.

Because not all who are seen worshiping therein actually do so,[488] like the one *who shall confess me*.[489] Then *he orders* that *a part* should not *be measured*, saying:[490]

[11:2] **BUT CAST OUT THE COURT WHICH IS OUTSIDE THE TEMPLE, AND DO NOT MEASURE; BECAUSE IT IS GIVEN TO THE GENTILES; …**

Those who are joined to the Church in name, and who do not approach the altar or the *Holy of Holies*,[491] are thrust out of the rule of the Gospel and keep company with the Gentiles. *All the glory of the king's daughter is within*.[492]

AND THEY SHALL TRAMPLE THE HOLY CITY UNDER FOOT FOR FORTY-TWO MONTHS;

Not only are they driven out of the Church, but in an alliance with the gentiles they attack the Church itself for three and a half years.[493] Nor do they oppress her only at that time – that is, in the time of Antichrist – for every body of wicked men belongs to him as it were to its rightful head, and in them, even now, the *mystery of iniquity is carried out*.[494]

487 The final sentence of this exegesis, as well as the exegesis of 11:2, brings in a theme dear to Bede: the congruity of measurement, especially as applied to time and to architecture, and 'rule', meaning a regular law of life, and in particular a monastic rule. The word-play of *regula* and *regulariter* is pervasive in *DTR*, and also in the *HE*, especially in the letter of Ceolfrith to King Necthan of the Picts in 5.21.

488 Tyconius 3.61 (166); cf. Caesarius 238.25-27 (not in Gryson's apparatus).

489 Luke 12:8.

490 Tyconius 3.62 (166); cf. Tur. fr. 326 (not in Gryson's apparatus).

491 Primasius 11.13, 15, 18-19; the ultimate source is Tyconius 3.62 (166), cf. Tur. fr. 328-329; Beatus 5.10.42.

492 Ps. 44:14 (45:13), quoted in this context by Primasius 11.15.

493 Cf. Primasius 11.17-20.

494 2 Thess. 2:7. For this entire sentence, Gryson cites a parallel in Primasius 11.21-25, but Primasius is in fact saying something different from Bede. Primasius speaks of an alliance of Jews, heretics and gentiles, but more importantly, he expressly denies that the number of months refers to the final persecution; it is, rather, a trope for the whole span of Christian history. Bede regards the time period as referring to *both* the whole of Christian history and the time of Antichrist.

[11.3] **AND I WILL GRANT TO MY TWO WITNESSES, AND THEY SHALL PROPHESY FOR ONE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY DAYS, …**

Lest the ferocity of the wicked should terrify his audience, he shows the Church, joined together from two peoples,[495] glowing with virtues through grace. Ever looking towards her Head, ***/371/*** which is Christ, she, teaching in the flesh, will prophesy for three and a half years, it is said, for the months contained in three and a half years make 1,260 days (that is, 30 [days] times 42 [months]). Daniel however writes that the abomination of desolation would be raised up for 1,290 days.[496]

CLOTHED IN SACKCLOTH.

That is: in a state of penance. As the prophet says, *But as for me, when they were troublesome to me, I was clothed with haircloth*.[497]

[11:4] **THESE ARE THE TWO OLIVE TREES AND THE TWO CANDLESTICKS THAT STAND BEFORE THE LORD OF THE EARTH.**

The Church, illumined by the light *of the two testaments*,[498] always attends upon the commands of the Lord.[499] *For the prophet Zechariah saw a single seven-branched candlestick, and these two olive trees (that is, testaments) pouring oil into the candelabrum. This is the Church* with *her unfailing oil, which causes her to shine as a light to the world*.[500]

[11:5] **AND IF ANY MAN WOULD HARM THEM, FIRE SHALL COME OUT OF THEIR MOUTHS, AND SHALL DEVOUR THEIR ENEMIES; [and if any man would harm them, in this manner must he be slain.]**

If anyone harm the Church, he is condemned by retributive justice to the very same punishment which he has inflicted, and is consumed by fire.[501] *For all that take the sword shall perish by the sword*.[502] Hence the Babylonian fire,

495 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XVII (see Appendix).

496 Dan. 12:11; Jerome, *In Dan.* 4.12.7 (941.630-632) computes 1,290 days as three and a half years, and Bede seems to agree with this in his exegesis of Rev. 8:1 and 11:13.

497 Tyconius 3.65 (167) quoting Ps. 34(35):13; cf. Tur. fr. 338-339, Caesarius 239.7-8; Beatus 5.11.7.

498 Primasius 11.53-54; the ultimate source is Tyconius 3.66 (167), cf. Tur. fr. 344; Caesarius 239.11-12; Beatus 5.11.8.

499 Cf. Tyconius, Tur. fr. 346.

500 Tyconius 3.66 (167): cf. Tur. fr. 346-347, Beatus 5.11.10. The allusion is to Zech. 4:2-3.

501 Primasius 11.62-63; based on Tyconius 3.67 (168): cf. Tur. fr. 351 and Caesarius 239.20.

502 Matt. 26:52.

directed against the children of God, ***/373/*** consumed the agents of wickedness themselves.[503] *Or else he is to be consumed in a good fire through the prayers of the mouth of the Church, and transformed into something better*.[504] He says, *You shall heap coals of fire upon his head*.[505]

[11:6] **THESE MEN HAVE POWER TO SHUT THE SKY, SO THAT IT DOES NOT RAIN IN THE DAYS OF THEIR PROPHECY; …**
In Christ *all power is given to the Church in heaven and earth* by the keys of binding and loosing which have been committed to it.[506] *But heaven is closed spiritually so that it does not rain, lest blessing from the Church fall upon the sterile earth. As the Lord says*[507]*concerning his vine*, *And I will command the clouds to rain no rain upon it*.[508]

AND POWER OVER THE WATERS, TO TURN THEM INTO BLOOD [and to strike the earth with every plague, as often as they desire.]
Not only do they hold the waters back, but they make what did come down useless, which is what it means to turn water into blood. [509] *For the goodly perfume of Christ, wafting from the Church, is to some the odour of death, leading to death, and to others the odour of life, leading to life*.[510]

[11:7] **AND WHEN THEY SHALL HAVE FINISHED THEIR TESTIMONY, THE BEAST THAT ASCENDS OUT OF THE ABYSS SHALL MAKE WAR AGAINST THEM …**
He plainly indicates that all these things will take place before the final persecution when he says, When they shall have finished their testimony – at least the [testimony] which they shall declare up until the revelation of the Beast [511] who will come forth from the hearts of the wicked.[512] It is not that

503 The allusion is to the story of the three young men in the fiery furnace: Dan. 3, and esp. v. 22.

504 Primasius 11.64-65; based on Tyconius 3.67: cf. Tur. fr. 351; Caesarius 239.20-22; Beatus 5.11.14.

505 Rom. 12:20.

506 Tyconius 3.68 (168) quoting from Matt. 28:18 and paraphrasing Matt. 16:19; cf. Tur. fr. 356, Primasius 11.68-70. Bede, however, has expanded the latter quotation from Matthew.

507 Tyconius 3.68 (168): cf. Tur. fr. 357-358; Caesarius 239.25-27.

508 The quotation from Isa. 5:6 came through Tyconius 3.68 (168); cf. Beatus 5.11.17-19; Primasius 11.72-73; Caesarius 239.27.

509 Primasius 11.75-76, based on Tyconius 3.68 (168): cf. Tur. fr. 358-359; Beatus 5.11.19.

510 Primasius 11.81-82, quoting 2 Cor. 2:15-16.

511 Tyconius 3.69 (169); cf. Tur. fr. 364-365; Caesarius 239.28-31; Primasius 11.87-89.

512 Cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.8 (714.72-75). Contrast to Primasius 11.90-91, who says that the Beast will emerge from the heart of the Jews (*ex latebris nequitiae cordis Judaeorum*).

[the two witnesses] do not then strive valiantly to resist the enemy, but that the Church will then be believed to be destitute of the grace of power, ***/375/*** while her foe will flash before them with *signs of falsehood*.[513] As the Lord says, *And want goes before his face*.[514]

AND SHALL OVERCOME THEM AND KILL THEM.
He shall overcome in those who shall succumb, and kill in those who shall be destroyed in praiseworthy patience for the sake of Christ's name.[515] Or if he spiritually overcomes and slays, we must accept that this refers to a segment of the witnesses. As [we read] in the Gospel, *Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted and shall put you to death*.[516] The evangelist Luke implies that this was said concerning a segment, saying *And some of you they will put to death*.[517]

[11:8] **AND THEIR BODIES SHALL LIE IN THE STREETS OF THE GREAT CITY …**
If they have persecuted me, he says, *they will also persecute you*.[518] It is no wonder that the city of the wicked, which did not fear to crucify the Lord, should likewise mock his servants, even if they are dead. The history of the Church[519] relates that such things have often happened.

WHICH IN A SPIRITUAL SENSE IS CALLED SODOM AND EGYPT; [where their Lord also was crucified.]
That is: 'silent' and 'gloomy',[520] having neither the light of faith nor the voice of confession. *For, with the heart, we believe to [our] justification; but with the mouth, confession is made, to [our] salvation*.[521] In token of spiritual

513 2 Thess. 2:9.

514 Job 41:13 (41:22). Cf. Gregory, *Mor.* 34.33 (1757.4-5).

515 Spliced from Primasius 11.92-94 and Tyconius 3.70 (169); cf. Tur. fr. 367-369; Caesarius 239.31-32; Beatus 5.12.1-2.

516 Matt. 24:9.

517 Luke 21:16.

518 John 15:20.

519 *historia ecclesiastica*: Bede may be thinking of some specific passages in Eusebius/Rufinus's *Historia ecclesiastica*, but the reference does not permit identification. It is at once too vague, in that it could, if taken loosely, be applicable to any persecution, and too precise, since it seems to point to exposure of the dead bodies of martyrs.

520 On the etymology of Sodom, cf. Jerome, *Lib. int.* 142.4, 151.21, 160.6 (Bede seems to have extrapolated this meaning from Jerome: see Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 170); on Egypt, *ibid.* 143.28-29,151.14, 156.25.

521 Rom. 10:10.

punishment, these regions were visibly smitten by plagues, namely [Sodom by] devouring fire and [Egypt by] water which has turned to blood.[522]

[11:9] **AND [THEY] OF THE PEOPLES OF THE TRIBES AND PEOPLES AND TONGUES AND NATIONS SHALL LOOK UPON THEIR BODIES [for three days and a half; …]**
He does not say *the peoples and tribes shall see*, but many *of the peoples*[523] who jeer at the saints, while others believe. ***/377/***

AND THEY SHALL NOT ALLOW THEIR BODIES TO BE LAID IN SEPULCHRES.
He spoke of their intention and their assault. They cannot have their wish, there should be no remembrance of them in the Church. As it is said, 'For you yourselves do not enter in and those that are going in, you do not allow to enter', and when they enter, they attack them. For they will evidently bring this to pass upon the bodies of the living and the dead, not allowing the living *to gather to celebrate* in their memory, nor the *dead to be named in memory*, *nor the bodies of these witnesses* to the memory *of God to be buried*.[524]

[11:10] **AND THOSE WHO DWELL UPON THE EARTH WILL REJOICE OVER THEM AND MAKE MERRY; [and will send gifts to one another, …]**
Whenever the righteous are afflicted, the unrighteous make merry and feast.[525] In the same way, *the poor man is ruined while the wicked lords it over him*.[526]

BECAUSE THESE TWO PROPHETS TORMENTED THEM [that dwelt upon the earth].
The very sight of the just irks the unjust because of the plagues with which humankind is tormented for the sake of God's testimonies. As they themselves say, 'He is a source of grief to us, even to behold.'[527]

522 Destruction of Sodom by fire: Gen. 19:24-25; plague of blood in Egypt: Exod. 7:17-25.

523 Tyconius, Tur. fr. 390, but Bede's partitive construction is original: see Mackay 'Sources and Style', p. 56.

524 Tyconius 3.74 (170), quoting Matt. 23:13: cf. Tur. fr. 385-387; Caesarius 240.10-13; Beatus 5.12.10-12; Primasius 11.105-110.

525 Tyconius 3.75 (170): cf. Tur. fr. 389, Caesarius 240.16-17 and Beatus 5.12.13. An allusion to Ps. 67:4 (68:3).

526 Ps. 9b(10):2.

527 Tyconius 3.76 (170-171): cf. Tur. fr. 392; Caesarius 240.17-20; Primasius 11.113-116; Beatus 5.12.15. The embedded quotation is from Wisd. of Sol. 2:15.

[11:11] **AND AFTER THREE AND A HALF DAYS, THE BREATH OF LIFE FROM GOD ENTERED INTO THEM; AND THEY STOOD UP ON THEIR FEET; …**
Up until now the angel has told of the future, and now he introduces as an accomplished fact what he hears will happen:[528] that when the kingdom of Antichrist has been overthrown, the saints have risen in glory.

AND GREAT FEAR FELL ON THOSE WHO SAW THEM.
He said this concerning all the living, for the just who survive will also tremble at the resurrection of those that sleep.[529] ***/379/***

[11:12] **[And they heard a loud voice from heaven, saying to them: Come up hither.] AND THEY WENT UP TO HEAVEN IN A CLOUD; …**
This is what the Apostle said: We shall be taken up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air.[530]

AND THEIR ENEMIES SAW THEM.
Henceforth *he distinguishes the unjust from those whom he said were collectively afraid*.[531]

[11:13] **AND AT THAT HOUR A GREAT EARTHQUAKE OCCURRED; AND A TENTH OF THE CITY FELL. AND SEVEN THOUSAND [names of][532] MEN WERE SLAIN IN THE EARTHQUAKE; …**
When the terror of judgement takes hold, *the whole* city of the Devil, *built upon sand*, will collapse *together with those who constructed it*. *Both the number ten and the number seven are perfect. Even if this were not so, the whole would be understood from the part*.[533]

AND THE REST WERE THROWN INTO FEAR …

528 Tyconius 3.77 (171): cf. Tur. fr. 396; Caesarius 240.24-25; Beatus 5.13.1; (more loosely) Primasius 11.205.

529 Tyconius (Tur. fr.) 403; Beatus pr. 4.98, and 5.13.10.

530 Tyconius 3.78 (171), cf. Tur. fr. 398; Caesarius 240.28-29, all quoting 1 Thess. 4:16. However, unlike Bede, these sources omit the phrase 'in the air'. On Bede's effort to integrate elements of the end-times narrative found outside Revelation, see Introduction, p. 82.

531 Tyconius 3.79 (171): cf. Tur. fr. 405; cf. Beatus pr. 4.98, 5.13.11.

532 An omission from the Vulgate text particular to Bede: see Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 183.

533 Tyconius 3.81 (172): cf. Tur. fr. 411-412; Caesarius 241.12-16; Primasius 11.213-219; Beatus 5.13.13. The reference to the structure built on sand comes from Matt. 7:26-27. The final sentence is a good illustration of Tyconius's Rule 5: see Introduction, p. 71.

'Who among men will boast that he has a chaste heart',[534] when *'the powers of heaven shall be moved'*?[535]

AND GAVE GLORY TO THE GOD OF HEAVEN.

These are built upon a rock who, while others collapse *in the earthquake, glorify* the Lord *in their stability with an upright confession. The just man shall rejoice when he sees the punishment of the wicked.*[536] *Some interpret the two prophets as Enoch and Elijah, who, preaching for three and a half years, strengthen the hearts of the faithful* against the perfidy of Antichrist which is soon to follow, and *when* they *have been killed*, his *anger will rage* for just this length of time.[537] And *when the struggle is again taken up*,[538] he will be overcome by the saints who, hidden safely away, were thought to be as good as dead; *because they are united in one body, they will be said to rise again* as prophets.[539] *When they who were thought dead are seen, and the persecution intensified*[540] ***/381/*** many of those who are believed to be worthy either in the number seven or the number ten will be slain. As Daniel says, *And he shall confirm the covenant with many, in one week: and in the half of the week the victim and the sacrifice shall fail: and there shall be in the temple the abomination of desolation*,[541] and in what follows, *And from the time when …the abomination unto desolation shall be set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. This number extends over the*

534 Prov. 20:9.

535 Matt. 24:29.

536 A fusion of Tyconius 3.82 (172; cf. Tur. fr. 416-417) quoting Ps. 57:11 (58:10), and Primasius 11.220-222; cf. Caesarius 241.17-21 and Beatus 5.13.15.

537 Gryson (p. 378) notes that no direct source for this identification of the two prophets with Enoch and Elijah has been found. 'Some interpret ... hearts of the faithful' is, however, found verbatim in a 6th-century tract from Vivarium entitled *De duobus testibus*, surviving in a unique copy in Vatican Library Reg. lat. 2077, fols. 78r-v. *Cf.* Troncarelli, 'Il consolato dell'antichristo', pp. 567–592. A critical edition of this text is being prepared by Dr Luciana Cuppo Csaki as part of her forthcoming edition and translation of Cassiodorus' *Complexiones in Apocalypsi* for the Library of Early Christianity (Catholic University of America Press). I owe this information to a personal communication from Dr Cuppo Csaki, to whom I extend very sincere thanks. The tradition is nonetheless an ancient one, going back to Hippolytus, *De antichristo* 47 and Tertullian, *De anima* 50: see R.J. Bauckham, 'The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976): 447–458. The italicized words 'when … rage' are from Primasius 11.195-198.

538 Primasius 11.169-170.

539 Primasius 11.174.

540 Primasius 11.210-212.

541 Dan. 9:27, quoted in this context by Primasius 11.185-186.

course of three years and six months.[542] Finally, Elijah once destroyed his adversaries with fire, and *from his hiding place* held back the rains for three and a half years, and eventually, when the false prophets had been slain, *converted Israel to God through the sacrifice which was consumed*.[543] So much for the recapitulation.

[11:14] **THE SECOND WOE IS PAST; AND BEHOLD, THE THIRD WOE WILL COME QUICKLY.**
The second woe does not refer *to the recapitulation*, but to the battle *of the horses*, which the trumpet of the sixth angel had incited. For the eagle predicted three woes from the sound of the three trumpets to come. But he did not say so then, lest what belongs to the seventh angel, and to the end, be thought to follow *immediately upon the third*.[544]

XVIII

[11:15] **AND THE SEVENTH ANGEL SOUNDED THE TRUMPET: AND THERE WERE LOUD VOICES IN HEAVEN, SAYING: THE KINGDOM OF THIS WORLD IS BECOME */383/* THAT OF THE LORD GOD[545] AND OF HIS CHRIST; [and he shall reign for ever and ever. Amen.]**
The previous six trumpets, which are likened to the ages of this world, announced the varying courses of the Church's wars. But the seventh, announcing the eternal sabbath, indicates the victory and the supreme rule of the true king.[546]

[11:16] **AND THE TWENTY-FOUR ELDERS [who sit on their thrones in the sight of God fell on their faces and] WORSHIPPED GOD, SAYING:**
[11:17] **WE GIVE YOU THANKS, LORD GOD ALMIGHTY, …**

542 Primasius 11.157-159, including quotation from Dan. 12:11. Compare to Bede's comment on Rev. 11:3 above.

543 Primasius 11.186-191; the reference is to 3 Kings (1 Kings) 18:30-45.

544 Condensing Tyconius 3.83 (172-173): cf. Tur. fr. 420-422; Primasius 11.222-235; Beatus pr. 4.103-105, 5.13.17-20.

545 The received text of the Vulgate reads *nostri domini*; Bede's text reads *domini Dei*: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 183.

546 This is the only passage in the *Commentary* where Bede seems to refer to the six world-ages, but it is ambiguous, in that he equates the *saeculi praesentis aetates* to the history of the Church, i.e. the Sixth Age. See also exegesis of 8:6. The seals also represent the divisions of the Sixth Age; hence the import of this statement is difficult to discern.

Behold, he says, *the third woe shall come in the voice of the seventh angel. And when [the angel] had sounded, [John] said that only the Church was praising God and giving thanks. Hence we understand that the reward of the good is nothing other than the woe of the evil*.[547]

WHO IS AND WHO WAS [and who is to come]; BECAUSE YOU HAVE TAKEN YOUR GREAT POWER, AND HAVE REIGNED. [11.18] **AND THE NATIONS WERE ANGRY; AND YOUR WRATH CAME; …**

Indeed, *you have reigned* from everlasting, despite the rebellion of the wicked, but now shall their rage perish, *crushed by you, their judge*.[548] *'The Lord has reigned, let the people be angry'*.[549]

AND THE TIME FOR THE DEAD TO BE JUDGED AND YOUR SERVANTS GIVEN THEIR REWARD and so forth **[the prophets and the saints, and those who fear your name, little and great; …]**

He conforms to the sequence of the Gospel narrative: first *all the nations shall be gathered*[550] before the Judge, then those who are on the right hand shall be established in *many mansions*[551] in the kingdom of the Father. But the wicked, when they have been expelled from the boundaries of the kingdom, shall be tortured in the flames of malediction.

AND FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THOSE WHO HAVE CORRUPTED THE EARTH.

This is the final woe.[552] So much for the seven angels sounding trumpets. ***/385/*** Now *he recapitulates* from the *birth of the Lord*, *and will say the same things in a different and fuller fashion*.[553]

547 Primasius 11.256-259, based on Tyconius 3.84 (173): cf. Tur. fr. 428-429; Beatus 5.14.2-3.

548 Arator, *De actibus apostolorum* 2.661 (114).

549 Ps. 98(99):1.

550 Matt. 25:32.

551 John 14:2. See Introduction, p. 82.

552 Tyconius 3.84 (173); cf. Beatus pr. 4.110, 5.14.4.

553 Primasius 11.263-264. The ultimate source is Tyconius 4.1 (173): cf. Beatus pr. 4.111, 5.14.4.

XIX

[11:19] **AND THE TEMPLE OF GOD WAS OPENED IN HEAVEN; AND THE ARK OF HIS COVENANT WAS SEEN IN HIS TEMPLE;**
The temple of the Lord, when it stood on earth, once covered the ark of the covenant draped in a mystic veil. But with the veil of the old Temple and the dividing wall rent by the blood of the Lord, the *ark* of his *Incarnation* is now revealed to the whole world in the Church, the temple of the living God, whose *conversation is in heaven*. For just as the heavenly manna [was stored] in [a vessel of] pure gold, so is [Christ's] divinity in his holy body.[554]

AND THERE WERE LIGHTNINGS AND VOICES AND AN EARTHQUAKE AND GREAT HAIL.
All of these are powers of flashing, and *proclamation*, *and of the wars of the Church*. *He had said that these things also happened in the description of the proclamation of the seven angels from the Lord's coming*, when he stood upon the altar, *but in general terms, from beginning to end. Then he described each in turn, and how it would come about. So also now, that the temple of God might be opened and that battles might ensue, he says*:[555]

[12:1] **AND A GREAT SIGN APPEARED IN HEAVEN: …**
[This is a sign] *that now also appears in the Church*, *that God came into being from man*.[556]

A WOMAN CLOTHED WITH THE SUN, AND THE MOON UNDER HER FEET, …
The Church, girded with the light of Christ, *treads* upon temporal glory.[557] '*In his days shall justice spring up, and abundance of peace, until* ***/387/*** *the moon be taken away* (or *slain*)'. That is, *the abundance of peace will wax to the point where it removes all the mutability of mortality, when* '*death the last enemy shall be destroyed*'.[558] Or else it is because this same Church in

554 Primasius 11.275, 265-66, including embedded quotation from Phil. 3:20. Cf. Tyconius, Tur. fr. 431.

555 Tyconius 4.4 (174): cf. Tur. fr. 438-439; Primasius 11.302-305; Caesarius 241.26-27; Beatus 6.1.3-4. 'When he stood upon the altar' alludes to Rev. 8:3.

556 Tyconius 4.5: cf. Tur. fr. 441; Primasius 12.1-4; Beatus pr. 5.1, 6.2.1.

557 Primasius 12.9-11; the identification of the Woman with the Church is from Tyconius 4.6 (174), cf. Tur. fr. 444.

558 Augustine, *Epistola* 55, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 34.2 (1898), 180.16-20, incorporating quotations from Ps. 71(72):7 ('In his days … slain') and 1 Cor. 15:26 ('death … destroyed').

part rejoices in Christ, the Sun, in heaven, and in part *is on pilgrimage*[559] in the body, apart from the Lord.[560] One can here understand his statement *His left hand under my head, and his right hand shall embrace me*.[561]

AND ON HER HEAD A CROWN OF TWELVE STARS.
The head of the Church is adorned *with the number of the twelve apostles*. Or else you should understand what is designated by the word 'head' to be Christ, or *the first beginning* of this same new-born Church. *You have set on his head a crown of precious stones*.[562]

[12:2] **AND BEING WITH CHILD, SHE CRIED OUT, TRAVAILING IN BIRTH, …**
Spiritually, *the Church both brings those with whom she travails to birth, and does not cease to travail in birth with those already born*. As she herself says, *My little children, with whom I am in labour again, until Christ be formed in you*.[563]

AND WAS IN PAIN TO BE DELIVERED.
As the Lord says in the Gospel, *A woman, when she is in labour, has sorrow, because her hour is come; but, when she has brought forth the child, she remembers no more the anguish because of her joy*.[564] To explain this to his disciples, he adds, *So also you now indeed have sorrow; but I will see you again and your heart shall rejoice*.[565] ***/389/***

[12:3] [**And there was seen another sign in heaven.] AND BEHOLD, A GREAT RED DRAGON, HAVING SEVEN HEADS AND TEN HORNS [and seven diadems on his heads;]**
The Devil, *bloody in his fury* against the Church, is armed with the might of an earthly kingdom.[566] *For in the seven heads he names [the Devil's] kings,*

559 Primasius 12.15-16. It is interesting that Bede barely alludes to Primasius's alternative interpretation of the Woman as the Virgin Mary, which is Primasius's occasion to indulge in a lengthy enumeration of heresies concerning the Incarnation: Matter, 'Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages', p. 32, 'The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis', p. 44.

560 2 Cor. 5:6.

561 Song of Sol. 8:3.

562 Primasius 12.27-29, quoting Ps. 20(21):4, and based on Tyconius 4.7 (175): cf. Tur. fr. 449.

563 Primasius 12.31-34, quoting Gal. 4:19.

564 John 16:21.

565 John 16:22.

566 A fusion of Primasius 12.35 and Tyconius 4.9; cf. Tur. fr. 452-453, Caesarius 242.4-5, Beatus 6.2.9. Primasius's wording is closest to Bede's, but Primasius, unlike the other sources

and in the ten horns, all kingdoms.[567]

[12:4] **AND WITH HIS TAIL HE DRAGGED DOWN A THIRD OF THE STARS IN HEAVEN AND CAST THEM TO THE EARTH.**
He shows the strength and malice of the enemy – the enemy whom the Church, with the Lord's help, defeats – who has hurled down a countless number of *angels* or *men* by cunning deceit, as if with his tail.[568] For the tail is a hidden part, an unclean part,[569] covering the unclean parts with a veil lest they be seen. Tyconius in his usual fashion interprets the third part of the stars which fall as false brethren; the second third is the Church, and the third third is enemies without.[570]

AND THE DRAGON STOOD BEFORE THE WOMAN [who was ready to be delivered],[571] THAT HE MIGHT DEVOUR HER SON WHEN SHE HAD GIVEN BIRTH.
The Devil *lies in ambush* for the Church, striving *to snuff out* the faith of Christ in the hearts of believers, so that the one whom she engenders by her instruction, he can as lord (so to speak) kill.[572] His symbolic meaning [*figura*] is displayed in the trickster *Herod* who, like the enemies within, pretends that he wishes to adore the Lord, in order that he may destroy him.[573]

[12:5] **AND SHE BROUGHT FORTH A MAN-CHILD,**
The Church continually gives birth to *Christ*, despite the dragon's attack. *He said that the victor over the Devil who had conquered the woman, was a man-child*.[574] For what son is not a man-child?

---

named here, does not identify the dragon with the Devil, an idea ultimately traceable to Victorinus/Jerome 12.2 (109.2).

567 Tyconius 4.10 (175): cf. Tur. fr. 456-457; Caesarius 242.6-8; Primasius 12.37-38; Beatus 6.2.12-13.

568 Tyconius 4.11 (175): cf. Caesarius 242.11-13; Primasius 12.43-45; Beatus 6.2.17. The identification of the stars with angels or men goes back to Victorinus/Jerome 13/17.1 (117.3-7).

569 See above, exegesis of Rev. 9:19.

570 Tyconius 4.11 (175-176). In Tur. fr. 456, by contrast, the stars which are cast down by the dragon's tail are 'simple folk who joined with him (i.e. the Devil)' and the third part are the Jews and their leaders. There is a parallel passage in Beatus 6.2.22-24.

571 An omission peculiar to Bede: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 184.

572 Primasius 12.47-51; the ultimate source is Tyconius 4.12 (176), cf. Tur. fr. 463; Caesarius 242.16-18; Beatus 6.2.26-27.

573 Tyconius 4.12 (176): cf. Tur. fr. 464-466; Beatus 6.2.28-30.

574 Tyconius 4.13 (177): cf. Tur. fr. 476-477 and Caesarius 242.18-20; Beatus pr. 5.9-10.

WHO WAS TO RULE ALL THE NATIONS WITH AN IRON ROD; …
He rules the good with unbending justice, and smashes the evil.[575] This was also promised above to the Church: *I will give him power over the nations.* ***/391/*** *And he shall rule them with a rod of iron*.[576] For the Church, too, every day begets the Church, which rules the world in Christ.

AND HER CHILD WAS TAKEN UP TO GOD AND TO HIS THRONE.
Thus Christ, born spiritually in the mind of those who hear, cannot be apprehended by wickedness, for he reigns with the Father in heaven, *and has raised us up together and has made us sit together in the heavenly places, through Jesus Christ*.[577]

[12:6] **AND THE WOMAN FLED INTO THE WILDERNESS, …**
The Church, living in hope of eternal things, rejoices in her *pilgrimage* through this present desert, *having received the power of treading on serpents and scorpions and over every power of the red dragon,* like the *Israelite* people who, *fed with heavenly bread in the wilderness*, overcame *the fiery serpents at the sight of the brazen* serpent.[578]

WHERE SHE HAD A PLACE PREPARED BY GOD, …
She says: *Be unto me a God, a protector, and a place of refuge, to save me.*[579]

THAT THERE THEY SHOULD FEED HER FOR ONE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY DAYS.
In this number of days, which makes three and a half *years*, is *encompassed the whole age of Christendom* [*christianitatis tempora*], because *Christ*, whose body it is, preached for that long in the flesh.[580]

575 Primasius 12.61-63.

576 Tyconius 4.14 (177): cf. Tur. fr. 479; Beatus 6.2.32-33, including embedded quotation of Rev. 2:26-27.

577 Tyconius 4.15: cf. Tur. fr. 481; Primasius 12.66-69, including quotation from Eph. 2:6.

578 Primasius 12.81-89; cf. Tyconius 4.15 (177), Tur. fr. 486; Caesarius 242.21-25; Beatus 6.2.37. The allusion to treading down serpents and scorpions is from Luke 10:19; the account of the brazen serpent from Num. 21:4-9. The Turin Fragments of Tyconius's commentary break off here.

579 Ps. 30:3 (31:2); Bede's text reads *locum refugii* ('place of refuge') rather than the Vulgate *domum refugii* ('house of refuge'). The phrase *locum refugii* occurs in this context in Primasius 12.96. Bede may have been influenced by Tyconius's Biblical text here; alternatively, he might have recognized the allusion in Primasius, and expanded his reference.

580 Primasius 12.101-103. The number 3½ would seem to be a Tyconian 'legitimate number'; see Introduction, pp. 70–71.

XX

[12:7] **AND THERE WAS A GREAT BATTLE IN HEAVEN. MICHAEL AND HIS ANGELS FOUGHT WITH THE DRAGON, …**
Heaven represents *the Church*, in which *(he says) Michael and his angels* fight *against the Devil; for by God's will he does battle for the pilgrim Church by praying and by rendering aid.* ***/393/*** *Daniel says that in the last and worst conflict, he will come to the succour of the Church*,[581] and therefore people think that Antichrist will be killed by him. Therefore *they are called his angels*, and in the same way, they are also our angels. The Lord says, *Their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father* – [the angels], *that is, of those who are citizens*.[582]

AND THE DRAGON FOUGHT, AND HIS ANGELS.
The angels of Satan are to be understood not only *as beings similar to him in nature and will, but also as men netted in his snares*.[583]

[12:8] **AND THEY DID NOT PREVAIL; …**
That is, for all time.

NOR WAS THERE A PLACE FOR THEM ANY MORE IN HEAVEN.
That is, amongst holy men, who are now themselves made into a heaven by his expulsion*, and who, as believers, receive him no more who was once expelled*.[584]

[12:9] **AND THAT GREAT DRAGON WAS THROWN DOWN, [that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, who deceives the whole world. And he was thrown down] TO THE EARTH; [and his angels were cast out with him.]**
Having been *expelled from the spiritual* [realms], the old enemy is bound more tightly *to the earthly*. *This is what it is to be hurled out of heaven, and*

581 Primasius 12.107, 111-114, 118-120; cf. Dan. 12.1. The identification of heaven with the Church is Tyconian: cf. Caesarius 242.25, Beatus 6.2.41. Note, however, that in his later work *De eo quod Isaias ait* (PL 94.707; trans. Holder, p. 47) Bede reiterates the idea that Michael will slay Antichrist and names Gregory the Great as his authority, i.e. *Homeliae in Evangelia* 34.9 (307.199-212). In his exegesis of Rev. 20:9 below, Bede proposes an alternative scenario, where Christ kills Antichrist.

582 Primasius 12.124-127, quoting Matt. 18:10. Cf. Augustine, *DCD* 22.29 (857.31-37).

583 Primasius 12.130-133.

584 Tyconius 4.17 (179); cf. Caesarius 242.32-34 (see also 243.25-29), Beatus pr. 5.14, 6.2.44.

cast down to earth. To him it is said, *Earth shall you eat all the days of your life*.[585] On this earth, he is crushed by the feet of the saints, as it is written: *You shall tread upon the asp and the basilisk*.[586]

[12:10] **[And I heard a loud voice in heaven, saying:] NOW THE SALVATION AND STRENGTH AND THE KINGDOM OF OUR GOD AND THE POWER OF HIS CHRIST ARE COME; …**
He shows plainly in what heaven these things take place. For we know that salvation is accomplished in the Church by the victory of Christ. Because of this, *He said*, *All power is given to me in heaven and in* ***/395/*** *earth – not the power which he himself always had, but [the power which] he began to have in the Church, as the head in its members, from the moment he himself so desired*.[587]

BECAUSE THE ACCUSER OF OUR BRETHREN IS CAST OUT,[588] …
The angels rejoice in the salvation of their brethren, that is, of *those who will be citizens in the future, though now they are on pilgrimage*.[589]

WHO ACCUSED THEM BEFORE THE SIGHT OF OUR GOD DAY AND NIGHT.
He censures them with *using prosperity amiss, and with lacking patience in adversity*.[590]

[12:11] **[And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of the testimony;] AND THEY LOVED NOT THEIR LIVES UNTO DEATH.**
They who have overcome such an adversary through the blood of Christ rightly despise their lives for Christ's sake.

[12:12] **THEREFORE REJOICE, O HEAVENS, AND YOU THAT DWELL THEREIN.**

585 Primasius 12.148-150, quoting Gen. 3:14. Tyconius 4.18 (179) interpreted 'earth' as earthly and carnal men: cf. Caesarius 243.2-5, 23-25, and Beatus 6.2.46. This is not reflected by Bede, and yet Bede's phrase 'cast out' (*expulsus*) is found in Tyconius.

586 Tyconius 4.18 (179), including quotation from Ps. 90(91):13; cf. Beatus 6.2.47.

587 Primasius 12.152-153, 157-160. The phrase 'take place' (*fiant*) in the first sentence is found in Tyconius 4.19 (179); cf. Caesarius 243.7.

588 The received text of the Vulgate reads *proiectus*, but Bede reads *abiectus*: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 184.

589 Primasius 12.164-165.

590 Gregory, *Mor.* 2.15 (69.17-19).

Here we should understand the inhabitants of heaven as both angels and holy men. *And it is fitting that both should rejoice in the Lord, since men associate with angels, and angels do service to human substance in Christ*.[591]

WOE TO THE EARTH AND TO THE SEA, BECAUSE THE DEVIL IS COME DOWN UNTO YOU IN GREAT WRATH, [knowing that he has only a short time.]

He taught that *as the redeemed* can look forward to joy, *so those doomed to perish* can anticipate *sorrow*.[592] Great woe threatens those whom that most fell foe takes hold of in his fury.

[12:13] **AND WHEN THE DRAGON SAW THAT HE WAS THROWN DOWN TO THE EARTH, HE PERSECUTED THE WOMAN [who given birth to the man-child].**

The Devil attacks the *Church* with *tortuous* cunning, and *the more his is cast down, the more he persecutes*.[593] ***/397/***

[12:14] **AND TWO WINGS OF A GREAT EAGLE WERE GIVEN TO THE WOMAN, THAT SHE MIGHT FLY INTO THE DESERT [to her place,] …**

The Church, borne up by the two *Testaments*, and wary of the chaotic venom of this world, daily seeks *the solitude*[594] of *a quiet and meek spirit*[595] in the disposition of her mind. Thus she sings for joy, *Lo, I went far off, flying away: and I abode in the wilderness*.[596] It makes no difference that there [i.e. in the Psalms], [the Church] asks for the wings of a dove,[597] but here receives the wings of an eagle. For just as the Church is symbolized by the former in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, so is she symbolized by the latter because of her high flight and sublime keenness of sight, with which she sees God in purity of heart – she whose *youth is renewed like the eagle's*.[598]

591 Primasius 12.180-183.

592 Primasius 12.185-186.

593 An interweaving of Primasius 12.195-197 and Tyconius 4.20 (180); cf. Caesarius 244.1-2 and Beatus 6.2.59. 'The devil …cunning' is from Primasius; the remainder of the sentence from Tyconius, though Primasius conveys the same idea in similar words.

594 Primasius 12.199-203, 204-206. The equation of the Testaments with wings is probably from Tyconius 4.21 (180): cf. Caesarius 244.6-7; Beatus 6.2.61.

595 1 Pet. 3:4.

596 Psalm 54:8 (55.7), quoted in this context by Primasius 12.205-206. The remainder of the exegesis of this verse is loosely based on Primasius 207-214.

597 Cf. Ps. 54:7 (55:6).

598 Ps. 102(103):5.

WHERE SHE IS NOURISHED FOR A TIME, AND TIMES, AND HALF A TIME, [away from the face of the serpent.]
The whole age of the Church is designated, comprised in the abovementioned number of days.[599] For *a time* signifies a year, *times* two years, and *half a time* six months.[600]

[12:15] **AND THE SERPENT SENT WATER LIKE A RIVER OUT OF HIS MOUTH AFTER THE WOMAN, THAT HE MIGHT CAUSE HER TO BE CARRIED AWAY BY THE RIVER.**
The water stands for the violence of the persecutors. Hence it is said, *perhaps the waters had swallowed us up*.[601] So the Church, not only borne up by the word of God but driven by the force of persecutions, makes haste to flee the world.

[12:16] [**And the earth helped the woman;**] **AND THE EARTH OPENED HER MOUTH, AND SWALLOWED UP THE RIVER [which the dragon sent out of his mouth.]**
This earth is the holy flesh of the Lord, *which* ([Scripture] teaches) *swallowing up the death which it received*, and overcoming it for a time, swallows us as well. ***/399/*** *It can* also *be interpreted as the Church*, by the *prayers* and admonitions of whose mouth the snares of the *Enemy* are avoided.[602]

[12:17] **AND THE DRAGON WAS ANGRY AT THE WOMAN; AND WENT TO MAKE WAR WITH THE REST OF HER SEED, …**
When he saw that the persecutions, which the mouth of the holy earth diverted, *could not be continued*,[603] he armed himself for his pursuit all the more with the mystery of evil, that he might plot without respite.

WHO KEEP THE COMMANDMENTS OF GOD, AND WHO HAVE THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS [Christ].

599 Primasius 12.217-218, echoing Tyconius 4.21 (180), cf. Beatus 6.2.62, who explicitly states that this time period extends to the end of the world (*ad finem mundi*). It is interesting to note that Bede avoids this phrase.

600 Cf. Jerome, *In Dan.* 2.7.25 (849.730-739); Augustine, *DCD* 20.23 (742.50-52); Isidore, *De natura rerum* 7.1, ed. Jacques Fontaine (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1960), 199.7-10.

601 Primasius 12.224-227, quoting Ps. 123 (124):4. The ultimate source is Tyconius 4.22 (180): cf. Caesarius 244.12; Beatus 6.2.63.

602 Primasius 12.229-234, 236-239. The ultimate source is Tyconius 4.22 (180-181): cf. Caesarius 244.13-16; Beatus 6.2.64.

603 Tyconius 4.23: cf. Caesarius 244.25-27; Beatus 6.2.72; Primasius 12.243.

To keep the commandments of God in the faith of Jesus Christ is to fight with the dragon and to challenge him to battle. Thanks be to God, who foils the raging dragon's attempt. For lo! he who exerted every effort to destroy the Lord born in the flesh, is frustrated by the resurrection. Labouring thereafter to undermine the confidence of the apostles' teaching, he strove to carry off the woman – that is, the whole Church – from the sphere of human affairs. But as his indiscriminate attacks have been in vain, he now turns against each of the ages of the faithful.[604] Hence what follows:

[12:18] **AND HE STOOD UPON THE SAND OF THE SEA.**
That is, this same enemy stirs up conspiracies and wars upon the multitude of people[605] *which the wind drives from the face of the earth*[606] – that [multitude], no doubt, which is wont to swallow the deceits of the enemy.

XXI

[13:1] **AND I SAW A BEAST COMING UP OUT OF THE SEA, …**
Depending on *the place*, the beast has different *meanings.*[607] Here, then, it signifies *the body of the Devil,* born from *the race of the ungodly*.[608] For indeed, this is the sea which above is understood as the abyss.[609] *Hence the dragon is called the king* ***/401/*** *of all that is in the waters, and his heads*, *according to David, are crushed in the* sea.[610]

HAVING SEVEN HEADS AND TEN HORNS; AND TEN DIADEMS UPON HIS HORNS, …
Here he shows the seven heads are identical with the ten horns. For he had said that the dragon wore seven diadems on seven heads,[611] and now he says that the beast had ten diadems on ten horns. But 'seven' and 'ten' are the same thing, as in *He shall receive sevenfold in this world*, and according to another evangelist, *a hundred-fold*.[612]

604 Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XX (see Appendix).

605 Tyconius 4.24 (181): cf. Beatus 6.2.72; Caesarius 244.28 specifies 'the multitude of the heretics'.

606 Ps. 1:4.

607 Tyconius 4.25 (181); cf. Primasius 13.5-7 and (more loosely) Beatus 6.3.15-16.

608 Tyconius 4.25 (181): cf. Caesarius 244.30-245.1; Primasius 13.7-8; Beatus 6.3.17.

609 Tyconius 4.25 (181): cf. Beatus 6.3.1, Primasius 13.2-3. 'Above' refers to Rev. 11:7.

610 Jerome, *In Dan.* 2.7.2-3 (838.450-452), quoting Ps. 73(74):6.

611 Rev. 12:3.

612 Luke 18:30. The text of this passage usually reads 'much more' (*multo plura*), but some MSS read 'sevenfold'. The 'other evangelist' is either Mark (10:30) or Matthew (19:29).

AND UPON HIS HEADS, NAMES OF BLASPHEMY.
For they say that their kings are gods after they are dead, and so to speak translated into heaven amongst the other gods, and even on earth they are called 'Augusti', which is a name of godhead, or so they hold. In another place, [John] says that the whole beast itself is full of the names of blasphemy.[613]

[13:2] **AND THE BEAST WHICH I SAW WAS LIKE TO A LEOPARD; AND HIS FEET WERE AS THE FEET OF A BEAR, AND HIS MOUTH AS THE MOUTH OF A LION.**
He is compared to a leopard, because of the diversity of peoples; to a bear, because of his malice and madness; and to a lion, because of the power of his body, and the pride of his tongue.[614] In Daniel, we read that the kingdom of the Chaldaeans is likened to a lioness, that of the Persians to a bear, and that of the Macedonians to a leopard.[615]

AND THE DRAGON GAVE HIM HIS OWN STRENGTH [and great power].
Thus the Apostle, speaking of the Devil's body, says: Whose coming is according to the working of Satan in all power and signs and lying wonders to them that perish.[616] ***/403/***

[13:3] **AND I SAW ONE OF HIS HEADS AS IT WERE SLAIN [to death];[617] AND HIS DEADLY WOUND WAS HEALED.**
In imitation of our true Head, Antichrist, who belongs to the heads of *the earthly kingdom, dares to present himself as having risen from the dead, in order that he might be taken for Christ, who really did this.*[618] The fallacy of this fabrication is said to have been foreshadowed in Simon Magus.[619]

613 Based on Tyconius 4.26 (182): cf. Beatus 6.3.18-19. The singling out of the title *augustus* as blasphemous is Bede's own addition, and refers to Roman emperors, who were deified after death. 'Another place': Rev. 7:3.

614 Tyconius 4.27 (182): cf. Caesarius 245.2-4; Beatus 6.3.20; Primasius 13.18-20.

615 Dan. 7:3-6; cf. Jerome, *In Dan.* 2.7.4 (838.464–839.469) and 2.7.6 (841.533–842.537).

616 Primasius 13.21-23, quoting 2 Thess. 2:9-10 (a verse which is faintly echoed in Beatus 6.3.22).

617 An omission peculiar to Bede: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 184.

618 Primasius 13.25-27, 33-35. Very loosely based on Tyconius 4.29 (182); cf. Caesarius 245.11-13 and Beatus 6.3.23-24. The feigned death and resurrection of Antichrist is part of his legendary 'biography'.

619 Cf. Acts 8:9-24. This notion of Antichrist as a trickster and fabricator of bogus miracles led to the identification of Simon Magus – the false opposite number of Simon Peter, and who tried to replicate Peter's miracles by purchasing his spiritual power – as one of the types of Antichrist. Bede comments only briefly on the episode of Simon Magus in his *Act. Ap.* (36-37;

AND THE WHOLE WORLD FOLLOWED IT [i.e. the Beast] IN WONDERMENT.[620]
[Scripture] presents the genus in place of the species, saying that the Beast is worshipped, since worldly men will worship that counterfeit head under the guise of the Head who was truly slain, and now lives.[621]

[13:4] **AND THEY WORSHIPPED THE DRAGON, BECAUSE HE GAVE POWER TO THE BEAST.**
They say they *worship God, who gave power to Christ*.[622]

AND THEY WORSHIPPED THE BEAST, SAYING: WHO IS LIKE TO THE BEAST? [And who is able to fight against him?]
These men say: Who is like Christ, and who can defeat him?[623]

[13:5] **AND A MOUTH SPEAKING GREAT THINGS AND BLASPHEMIES WAS GIVEN TO HIM; …**
Who *is lifted up above all that is called God or that is worshipped.*[624]

AND POWER WAS GIVEN UNTO HIM TO ACT FOR FORTY-TWO MONTHS. [13:6] **AND HE OPENED HIS MOUTH TO UTTER BLASPHEMIES TOWARDS GOD, …**
Before *the three and a half years, he does not blaspheme openly*, but in the mystery *of iniquity* which will be revealed when *separation* [*discessio*] *is made and the man of sin revealed*, he will be disclosed.[625] Then will he say, *I am Christ*,[626] but now it is ***/405/*** *Lo, here is Christ, or there*.[627] But 'towards God' [*ad Deum*] means 'against God'.

TO BLASPHEME HIS NAME AND HIS TABERNACLE, [and those who dwell in heaven.]
The wicked man, usurping for himself the dignity of the name of God, will also dare to call the Church his own.

---

trans. Martin, pp. 79–80), and does not identify him there with Antichrist.

620 The Vulgate reads *bestiam*; Bede *eam*: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 184.

621 Cf. Rev. 5:6, 5:9. The source is Tyconius 4.29 (182): cf. Primasius 13.36-39 and Beatus 6.3.27-28.

622 Tyconius 4.29 (182): cf. Beatus 6.3.30.

623 Tyconius 4.29 (182): cf. Beatus 6.3.34.

624 2 Thess. 2:4.

625 Tyconius 4.30 (183): cf. Beatus 6.3.38-39, quoting 2 Thess. 2:3.

626 Matt. 24:5.

627 Matt. 24:23.

[13:7] **AND IT WAS GIVEN TO HIM TO MAKE WAR WITH THE SAINTS, AND TO CONQUER THEM. [And power was given him over every tribe, and people, and tongue, and nation.]**
A part standing for the whole that can be overcome,[628] since even the elect, if this be possible, will be shaken by the violence of the times.[629] This is also *a condemnation of the Jews who accepted a lie, and did not believe in the truth*.[630]

[13:8] **AND ALL THAT DWELL UPON THE EARTH WORSHIPPED HIM …**
All, he said; but *dwellers upon the earth*.[631] For *they that depart from you shall be written in the earth*.[632]

WHOSE NAMES ARE NOT WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF LIFE OF THE LAMB …
It is right that those who serve the author of death not be written in the book of life, and that those who are deluded by the fraudulent death of the Beast should lack the companionship of the Lamb who has taken away *the sin of the world*[633] – the Lamb, it says, **WHICH WAS SLAIN FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD.**
A lamb, as Peter says, *unspotted and undefiled, foreknown indeed before the foundation of the world, but manifested in the last times*.[634] Another version says *the lamb signed from the foundation of the world.*[635] This can be understood by hyperbaton[636] – that the names of the saints are written from the beginning in the book of life. ***/407/***

[13:9] **IF ANY ONE HAS AN EAR, LET HIM HEAR.**

628 Tyconius 4.32 (183): cf. Primasius 13.82; Caesarius 246.1; Beatus 6.3.47.
629 An allusion to Matt. 24:24, quoted in this context by Primasius 13.66-67.
630 Jerome, *In Dan.* 2.7.25 (849.735-736).
631 Tyconius 4.33 (183): cf. Caesarius 246.4; Beatus 6.3.48.
632 Jer. 7:13, quoted in this context by Primasius 13.93.
633 John 1:29.
634 1 Pet. 1:19-20.
635 The 'other version' is from Tyconius 4.35 (183), cf. Caesarius 246.7 and Beatus T. 13.9 (472); Sparks, p. 512; Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 181.
636 Cf. Bede's exegesis of Rev. 6:9 above. In *De schematibus et tropis* 2.10, he defines several kinds of *hyperbaton*, all of which involve a transposition or rupture of expected word order (158.107 *sqq.*). The idea here is that the verb *signed* implies that the phrase *from the beginning of the world* applies not only to the Lamb, but to the inscription of the names of the saints in his book.

Whenever Scripture interjects this statement, it is asking the reader to be *attentive* in the face of the obscurity of the subject. Lest the fact that the reign of the *great* devil will be a *momentary* one *be left in doubt*, [John] *anticipates human thoughts, saying*:[637]

[13:10] **HE THAT SHALL LEAD INTO CAPTIVITY GOES INTO CAPTIVITY; …**
That is, *the Devil, and the Beast who seems to capture the nations in his nets*, will swiftly *be taken captive along with his followers*.[638]

HE THAT SHALL KILL WITH THE SWORD MUST BE KILLED WITH THE SWORD.
Then the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth and destroy in the brightness of his coming [639] him who now pursues the Church with carnal or even spiritual death.

HERE IS THE PATIENCE AND THE FAITH OF THE SAINTS.
He had promised to kill the murderer, but since no one is *crowned save the one who has striven lawfully*,[640] what is required now is courage, now a stout breast. *Having described the Beast in general terms first in his hypocritical and then in his open blasphemy*, [John] describes him *in his chieftains alone*, once again first *hypocritically*, and then *openly*.[641]

XXII

[13:11] **AND I SAW ANOTHER BEAST RISING UP OUT OF THE EARTH; …**
[John] *calls it 'another' because of what it does; otherwise, it is the same one*. For as Daniel bears witness, *the sea is in this case the earth*:[642] when he saw the four beasts rise up from the sea,[643] the angel said to him, *These four beasts are four kingdoms which shall arise out of the earth*.[644] ***/409/***

637 Primasius 13.94-99; the opening phrase is echoed in Beatus 6.3.52.
638 Primasius 13.99-101 .
639 2 Thess. 2:8, quoted in this context by Primasius 13.108-109.
640 2 Tim. 2:5.
641 Tyconius 4.37 (184): cf. Beatus 6.3.55.
642 Tyconius 4.38 (184): cf. Caesarius 246.12; Beatus pr. 5.19, 6.4.1-2.
643 Dan. 7:3.
644 Dan. 7:17; 'when he saw …out of the earth' closely paralleled in Jerome, *In Dan.* 2.7.3 (834.453-456).

AND HE HAD TWO HORNS, LIKE A LAMB; AND HE SPOKE AS A DRAGON.

He *displays* the horns of a lamb where he secretly implants *the venom of a dragon*.[645] *For in his hypocritical sanctity – sanctity which the Lord truly possessed – he pretends to possess a special wisdom and life*.[646] The Lord says of this Beast, *Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves*.[647]

[13:12] **AND HE EXECUTED ALL THE POWER OF THE FIRST BEAST [in his presence].**

The wretched disciples follow their master in all things.[648]

AND HE MADE THE EARTH AND THOSE DWELLING IN IT WORSHIP THE FIRST BEAST, …

He displays the power of seduction, to subject to himself both the body and the soul which dwells within it.[649]

WHOSE MORTAL WOUND WAS HEALED.

That is, who pretended to have vanquished death by rising to life. For the Scripture did not say that he was killed, but that he appeared to be killed, as it was said of the Jews, *and they did not go into the praetorium, that they might not be defiled*. For the evangelist does not affirm that these most defiled people could be defiled if they entered the praetorium, or that the Jews who were guilty of such great crimes were really afraid of defilement, but he related what they pretended, as if he were affirming it.[650]

[13:13] **AND HE PERFORMED MIGHTY WONDERS, SO THAT HE EVEN MADE FIRE TO COME DOWN FROM HEAVEN UPON THE EARTH [in the sight of men].**

He exhibits the miracle of fire – the greatest of all, as it were – so that as the Lord gave his disciples the gift of [true] powers when the Holy Spirit came from heaven in fire, [the beast] might also deceive his own [disciples]

645 Tyconius 4.39 (184); cf. Caesarius 246.14-16; Primasius 13.116-119; Beatus 6.4.13.

646 Gregory, *Mor.* 33.59 (1724.17-19).

647 Matt. 7:15; quoted by Tyconius 4.39; cf. Beatus 6.4.14. Bede's overall exegesis agrees with Primasius 13.116-119 (the two horns of the Lamb are the two Testaments, which the Dragon appropriates; hence this is a symbol of hypocrisy).

648 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XXII (see Appendix).

649 Primasius 13.147-148.

650 Tyconius 4.41 (186), including the embedded quotation from John 18:28; cf. Beatus 6.4.63-65.

with a lying cheat, in what was apparently a comparable divine gift.[651] ***/411/***

[13:14] **AND DECEIVED THOSE THAT DWELL ON THE EARTH BECAUSE OF THE SIGNS WHICH HE WAS ALLOWED TO DO [in the presence of the beast;] …**

For as it is said, his *coming is according to the working of Satan in all power and signs and lying wonders*.[652] Because they are called 'signs' and 'lying wonders', *there is frequent speculation as to whether he will deceive mortal senses by phantasms, so that what he does not actually do, will appear to happen, or whether, if these are true wonders, they will deceive those who believe that these things can only happen by divine power, and who are unaware of the power of the devil*,[653] who *carried off the family of Job, with his vast herds*, not by an *apparition*, but by a real *fire* and whirlwind.[654] Whether they be called lying signs in one sense or in the other, this much is beyond doubt: that trial will appear greater than all others, *when the devout martyr subjects his body to torture, only to have his torturer do miracles before his eyes*.[655]

SAYING TO THEM THAT DWELL ON THE EARTH THAT THEY SHOULD MAKE THE IMAGE OF THE BEAST WHICH HAD THE SWORD-WOUND AND LIVED.

That is, to be like him, and thus to make an image of him. As another version says, *as if he had a wound from a sword and lived*.[656] That is, by this falsehood they will say that they died together with Christ, and rose together with him, as if he would also set himself up as both God and mediator between himself and his followers. For unlike our Lord Jesus Christ, he has not another [i.e. God] between whom and his followers he might be a mediator.[657]

[13:15] **AND HE WAS ALLOWED TO GIVE BREATH [*SPIRITUM*]**

651 Cf. Primasius 13.188-193. A somewhat similar idea is expressed by Beatus 6.4.66, 71, so the ultimate source may be Tyconius.

652 2 Thess. 2:9, quoted in this context by Augustine, *DCD* 20.19 (732.95-98).

653 Augustine, *DCD* 20.19 (733.100-105).

654 Augustine, *DCD* 20.19 (733.107-110).

655 Gregory, *Mor.* 32.24 (1648.70-72).

656 *Sicut habet plagam de gladio et vixit.* Vulgate: *quae habet plagam gladii, et vixit.* Sparks (p. 515) identifies the 'other version' as Primasius (13.152-157), who reads *quae habet plagam factam de gladio et vixit*, with some MSS omitting *factam*. The ultimate source is Tyconius 4.42 (186); cf. Beatus 6.4.54-55: Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 181.

657 'as if …mediator': cf. Primasius 13.155-157.

TO THE IMAGE OF THE BEAST; …
That is, he will pretend *to give the spirit of truth to the very people who carry out this falsehood by making themselves an image of the beast*.[658] ***/413/***

AND [IT WAS ALLOWED] THAT THE IMAGE OF THE BEAST SHOULD SPEAK, …
Not only would he delude the mob of wretched creatures by a spirit counterfeited through fire, but he will also make it in such as way that it will be able to teach others.

AND THAT HE SHOULD CAUSE WHOEVER WILL NOT WORSHIP THE IMAGE OF THE BEAST TO BE SLAIN.
Not that image whose manufacture they provoke, *but rather the one which they have made the people resemble*.[659] Therefore he causes the image of the beast to adore the image *of the beast – that is, the people to adore the invention of the devil*.[660]

[13:16] **AND HE SHALL MAKE ALL, BOTH LITTLE AND GREAT, RICH AND POOR, [freemen and bondmen,] …**
Not all without exception – [all] the pagans, for instance – *but* those who *pertain to this mystery*.[661]

TO HAVE A MARK IN THEIR RIGHT HAND OR ON THEIR FOREHEADS;
This mark is the mystery *[mysterium]* of iniquity which the *hypocrites* accept under the appellation of Christ *in what they do and in what they profess*.[662]

[13:17] **AND THAT NO MAN MIGHT BUY OR SELL …**
By mentioning buying and selling, [Scripture] taught that even as the Church has transmitted a pledge [*symbolum*] *for what is good, one that is to profit our salvation, so also these people, for what is evil, constrain themselves by such a limitation that permission is given neither to buy nor to sell, just as merchants transported on the same ship are bound by one common sign*.[663]

658 Tyconius 4.43 (186-187): cf. Beatus 6.4.70.
659 Tyconius 4.43 (186): cf. Beatus 6.4.74.
660 Tyconius 4.43 (187): cf. Caesarius 246.25-27; Beatus 6.4.76.
661 'but …mystery': Tyconius 4.44 (187); cf. Beatus 6.2.78.
662 Tyconius 4.44 (187): cf. Caesarius 246.28-30, 247.13-15; Primasius 13.238-239; Beatus 6.4.78-80; Augustine, *DCD* 20.9 (718.108-110). The phrase 'mystery of iniquity' is from 2 Thess. 2:7. In this verse and the one below, the word *mysterium* is used in a sense which is close to 'sacrament'.
663 Primasius 13.241-246.

UNLESS HE HAS THE MARK OF THE NAME OF THE BEAST, OR THE NUMBER OF HIS NAME.
That is, who share is his deceit. ***/415/*** For the mark [*character*], that is, the letter *[nota]* is both *the name of the beast and the number of his name*.[664]

[13:18] **[Here is wisdom. He that has understanding, let him compute the number of the beast.] FOR IT IS THE NUMBER OF A MAN;** *lest we think, as some do, that he is a devil or demon. Rather, he is a human being in whom Satan will take up his habitation totally and corporeally*.[665] For he is *the man of sin, the son of perdition*.[666]

AND HIS NUMBER IS SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX.
The Greeks say that this number is found in the word 'Titan', that is, 'giant', as follows: T is 300, E is 5, I is 10, T is 300, A is one, N is 50.[667] And it is thought that Antichrist is going to appropriate this name for himself, as it were excelling all in power, and will give himself out as being the one of whom it is written that he *has rejoiced as a giant to run the way. His going is from the end of heaven.* [668] Primasius offers another name which makes up the same number: ***/417/*** A=1, N=50, T= 300, E= 5, M= 40, O=70, S= 200, which means 'contrary to honour'. But so does the word A=1, P=100, N=50, O=70, Y=400, M=40, E=5, that is, 'I deny'.[669] Through this is insinuated

664 Tyconius 4.45 (187): cf. Primasius 13.249-251; Beatus 6.4.95.

665 Jerome, *In Dan.* 2.7.8 (844.601-604).

666 2 Thess. 2:3; quoted in this context by Primasius 13.231.

667 Victorinus/Jerome 13/17.3 (124.1-7); cf. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 5.30.1-3, ed. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, Source chrétiennes 264 (Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 1979), of which a paraphrase is interpolated into the *M* recension of Victorinus/Jerome. The Insular dossier of interpretations of the number of the Beast known as *De monogramma* composed in the first half of the eighth century also reproduces this explanation from Victorinus/Jerome: ed. Gryson, *Commentaria minora* 151.55-62. 'Titan' proved to be a very influential reading of the number of the beast; beginning with the illustrated Beatus manuscripts, Antichrist would often be depicted as a giant: McGinn, *Antichrist*, pp. 106–107.The technique deployed here for decoding the name, *gematria*, is based on the fact that in the Hebrew and Greek alphabets, letters double as numerals. Thus A=1, B=2 and so forth. The system was well known to Bede, and is demonstrated in *DTR* 1. The letters here are Greek majuscules: hence C= *sigma*, P=*rho*.

668 Ps. 18.6-7 (19.6-7).

669 Primasius 13.265-270, 275-280; cf. Victorinus/Jerome 13/17.3 (123.7-8, 125.18); *De monogramma* 152-153. This is the only time in the *Commentary* that Bede mentions Primasius by name. The two alternative names can be rendered as *antemos* and *arnoume* (*i.e. arneomai*). *Antemos* does not correspond to any identifiable Greek word, and may be a personal name, i.e, Anthemius. This was the name of two prominent political figures in late Antiquity: Anthemius the praetorian prefect under Theodosius II, and his grandson, *augustus* of the western Empire

both the nature of *Antichrist's character and the harshness of his deeds*.[670] But a more laborious explanation is required to explain why[671] one so greedy for adulation would wish himself to be recognised in such a designation [*character*]. Another [explanation]: who does not know that the number six, in which the world was made, signifies the completion of an action?[672] Either by itself or multiplied by ten or one hundred, it demonstrates the *thirty-fold* or *sixty-fold* or *hundred-fold* fruit[673] of this same perfection. For *every year, a weight of gold was brought to Solomon of six hundred and sixty-six talents*.[674] What in fact is a gift rightfully owed to the true king, this tyrant and seducer will presume to exact for himself. ***/419/***

XXIII

[14:1] **AND I BEHELD, AND LO, THE LAMB STOOD UPON MOUNT ZION, …**

That is, the Lord Jesus was standing as an example of strength and a bulwark of protection before his Church as it struggled beneath the burden of battles. *After having shown* the Body confounded by the power of the dragon and branded by the hot iron, [Scripture] shows the Church rejoicing in its splendour and *number*, lest you fear that the Body of the Lamb *has succumbed* to the fury of the Beast.[675] Notice that the Beast stands on the sand of the sea,[676] and the Lamb on Mount Zion.

---

from 467 to 472. The fact that Anthemius Augustus was descended from a family closely related to that of Julian the Apostate may have tainted his reputation amongst Christians, and his grandfather's prominent position under Theodosius II could hardly have endeared him to the Donatists, but Anthemius himself seems to have done nothing to merit identification with the Beast. He failed in his primary mission of preventing Vandal expansion in the western Mediterranean – the Vandals captured Sicily during his reign – but this seems a slender reason for defamation. In fact, Primasius's lame attempt to extract a Greek word out of *antemos* suggests that no one, even at the time, could understand the *antemos* solution.

670 Primasius 13.285-287.

671 *Sed operosa expositione indiget quomodo*: Bede liked this turn of phrase, and re-used it in *In Gen.* 4 (204.357; trans. Kendall, p. 282).

672 Cf. Augustine, *DCD* 11.30 (350.1-12), *De trinitate* 4.4, ed. W.J. Mountain and F. Glorie, CCSL 35 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), 169.3 *sqq.*; Bede, *DTR* ch. 8 (300.10-17; tr. Wallis, p. 32) and 39 (402.26–403.43; tr. Wallis, pp. 108–109).

673 Matt. 13:8, 23.

674 3 Kings (1 Kings) 10:14-15, and 2 Chron. 9:13. Bonner draws attention to the apparent originality of this final explanation of the number of the Beast: *Saint Bede*, p. 13.

675 Primasius 14.3-7.

676 Rev. 12:18.

AND WITH HIM A HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR THOUSAND, …
This finite number should be understood as an infinite number, and one that, by signifying a hidden mystery,[677] is appropriate to a virgin band that loves God with *all its heart and all its soul and all its mind*,[678] and appropriate to their body as well, which consists of the four qualities, and that is *consecrated* to him in integrity. For three times three is nine and four fours are sixteen, and sixteen times nine is 144. This is so that when such a perfect multitude of those who in this fleshly life are deservedly placed on Mount Sion with the Lamb is seen, *there might be no doubt about the rest of the members of the Church*.[679]

HAVING HIS NAME AND THE NAME OF HIS FATHER WRITTEN ON THEIR FOREHEADS.
When he says that 'God' and 'Christ' are written on the foreheads of the Church, [John] *shows what the mark on the forehead of the Beast is imitating*.[680] ***/421/***

[14:2] **AND I HEARD A VOICE FROM HEAVEN, LIKE THE SOUND OF MANY WATERS [and like the sound of great thunder.]**
The great voice of the saints is the great devotion of charity,[681] which [John] says that he heard from heaven, although he says that those who uttered the voice stood on Mount Sion in order to show that Mount Sion means nothing other than the Church. [This is the Church] which, to overcome the distress of afflictions, and emboldened by the sublime joy of contemplation, celebrates the battles of her King at once with praise and with emulation. For this, in truth, is to sing to the Lamb who stands [on Mount Sion].

AND THE SOUND WHICH I HEARD WAS LIKE THE SOUND OF HARPERS, HARPING ON THEIR HARPS.
Although all the saints who *crucify the flesh with its vices and desires*[682] are the harpers of God and *praise him with the psaltery and harp*,[683] how much

677 Primasius 14.12-13.
678 Matt. 22:37.
679 'and in their body …members of the Church': Primasius 14.13-18.
680 Tyconius 4.47 (188): cf. Caesarius 248.3-5; Beatus 6.8.1.
681 This is a particularly Bedan theme. It reappears in *DT* 1 (182.1416-1419), and *In Marcum* 4 (854-855, 857-858).
682 Gal. 5:24.
683 Ps. 150.3.

more so are they who by the privilege of angelic chastity[684] make themselves entire holocausts to God, and who *deny themselves* utterly *and taking up their cross, follow*[685] *the Lamb wherever he goes*.[686]

[14:3] **AND THEY SUNG AS IT WERE A NEW SONG, BEFORE THE THRONE, [and before the four living creatures, and the elders;] …**
The old song was *Blessed is he who has his seed in Zion and has his household in Jerusalem*.[687] The new one is *Rejoice you who are barren, who have not borne*.[688]And again he says, *The Lord says, I will give to the eunuchs in my house and within my walls, a place and a name better than sons and daughters*.[689] ***/423/***

AND NO MAN COULD UTTER THE SONG EXCEPT THOSE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR THOUSAND WHO WERE PURCHASED FROM THE EARTH.
In this special sense, to sing the song to the Lamb is to rejoice with him forever, more than all the faithful, and particularly in the incorruptibility of the flesh. The other elect can nonetheless hear the song, though they cannot sing it, because they rejoice out of charity for the high estate of these people, even though they cannot attain their reward.[690]

[14:4] **[These are they who were not defiled with women;] FOR THEY**

684 The life of 'angelic chastity' is another theme dear to Bede: cf. *In Sam.* 4 (1048-1049); *In Lucam* 5 (1187-1188).

685 Matt. 16:24, Mark 8.34.

686 Rev. 14:4.

687 Isa. 31:9.

688 Isa. 54:1; Gal. 4:27.

689 Isa. 56:5; quoted in this context by Primasius 14.142-143.

690 Gregory, *Regula pastoralis* 3.28, ed. B. Judic, F. Rommel and C. Morel, Sources chrétiennes 382 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992) 464.99-104. Bede will reiterate this concept of reciprocity within the hierarchy of the blessed in *De tab.* 1 (32.1079-1090): 'The elect are doubtless imbued with one true faith, even if their merits differ in rank; for they will come to one light of eternal truth in heaven, even though those who endeavour to cleave to Christ higher up in this life will enjoy a closer vision of him in that life. Accordingly, it is said of certain ones on account of the merit of their great virtue, "These are those who follow the Lamb wherever he goes"; just before, it is said of others, as if of the nearby branches on the lampstand, "And they were singing a new song, as it were, before the throne and before the four living creatures and before the elders". By this it is shown that all the saints throughout the streets of the heavenly city sing a new song of gladness to God, but those who in this life transcended the common life of the faithful by the special privilege of sacred virginity are there raised up into a special position above the others in the joy of song' (trans. Holder, p. 35). Bede likewise dilates on Rev. 14:4 in his homily on Benedict Biscop, *Hom.* 1.13 (92.141-148) trans. Hurst, vol. 1, pp. 130–131.

ARE VIRGINS. THESE FOLLOW THE LAMB WHEREVER HE GOES.

In his admonition to virgins, Augustine explains this beautifully: *Persevere, sons and daughters of the holy God, men and women, celibate and unwed; persevere steadily to the end. Praise the Lord all the more sweetly, as you think on him more fully. Hope more joyfully in him whom you serve more earnestly. Love more ardently him whom you please more attentively. With loins girded and lamps lit, wait for the Lord's coming from the wedding. You shall bring a new song to the wedding of the Lamb, which you will sing upon your harps, such as none but you will be able to sing. For in the Apocalypse, one who was beloved of the Lamb saw you, above all the others. He was wont to recline upon [the Lamb's] bosom, and he saw you, a hundred and forty-four saintly harpers of unstained virginity in body and inviolate truth in heart. You follow the Lamb, because undoubtedly the flesh of the Lamb is virgin. You follow him in virginity of heart and flesh wherever he goes. What is to follow save to imitate? For 'Christ **/425/** also suffered for you, leaving you an example that you should follow in his steps'*.[691]

THESE WERE PURCHASED FROM AMONG MEN AS FIRST-FRUITS FOR GOD AND THE LAMB.

From that holy and immaculate flock of the Church, they are chosen by the Holy Spirit as purer and holier victims on the merits of their will, whom the Apostle, *having no commandment of the Lord concerning them*,[692] urges to *present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing unto God*.[693]

[14:5] **AND IN THEIR MOUTH NO LIE WAS FOUND; [for they are spotless before the throne of God.]**

Virgins are joined to the divine company not by virtue of their chastity alone, but only if they lead a life unblemished by any sin. *Tyconius* interprets this vision not with respect to virgins specifically, but with reference to the whole Church generally, whom the Apostle *espoused to one husband, to present as a chaste virgin to Christ*, *concluding thus: He did not say there*

691 Augustine, *De sancta virginitate* 27, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 41 (1900) 263.7–264.19, slightly condensed; the quotation at the end is from 1 Pet. 2:21, and the phrase 'loins girded … bridal' alludes to Luke 12:35. The reference to John reclining on the Lord's bosom is from John 13:25. This passage is quoted verbatim but without acknowledgement by Primasius 14.7-88, 98-103; Bede probably took it from this source, but recognized and supplied the ascription to Augustine: see Mackay, 'Augustine and Gregory', p. 400.

692 1 Cor. 7:25.

693 Rom. 12:1.

was no lie in their mouth, *but that none was found*. As the Apostle says, *And such some of you were. But you are washed*. *And the wickedness of the wicked shall not hurt him in the day when he shall turn from his wickedness*, and he will be able to be a virgin, and guile shall not be found in his mouth.[694] For [the Scripture] calls the chaste and modest 'virgins'.

XXIV

[14:6] **AND I SAW ANOTHER ANGEL FLYING THROUGH THE MIDST OF HEAVEN, HAVING THE ETERNAL GOSPEL, …**
Now that [John] has described the shifting and changeable warfare waged against the dragon by the Church, on pilgrimage in the world, it remains to dispense to both armies the recompense each deserves, and to show either what punishments await the evil, or what rewards await the good. ***/427/*** Therefore *the preacher*, *running through the midst of the Church*, carries the Gospel of the eternal kingdom.[695]

TO PREACH TO THOSE WHO SIT UPON THE EARTH …
It is fitting that those who are borne aloft by celestial flight should also lift up earthly minds from the seat of their sluggishness by preaching.

AND UPON EVERY NATION AND TRIBE AND TONGUE AND PEOPLE;
And this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, he says, *and then shall the consummation come*.[696]

[14:7] **[Saying with a loud voice:] FEAR THE LORD AND GIVE HIM HONOUR, BECAUSE THE HOUR OF HIS JUDGEMENT IS COME; [and worship him who made heaven and earth, the sea and the fountains of waters.]**
He says, You who fear God, the maker of the world, and not the temporal tyranny of the Beast: look forward all the more to your salvation, the more swiftly your reward awaits you – a reward which will remain changeless for eternity.

694 Tyconius 4.49 (188) including embedded quotations from 2 Cor. 11:2, 1 Cor. 6:11 and Ezek. 33:12. Cf. Caesarius 248.9-12, 16-17 and Beatus 6.8.8-9, 11-12. Note that Primasius reads the passage differently (14.25-31): the 'virgins' should include not only those who are literally virgins, but also the legitimately married, since the patriarchs and prophets were married men.

695 Tyconius 5.2 (189): cf. Caesarius 248.21; Beatus 7.1.1; Primasius 14.153-154.

696 Matt. 24:14, quoted in this context by Primasius 14.166-167.

[14:8] **[And another angel followed, saying:] BABYLON THE GREAT HAS FALLEN, HAS FALLEN; …**

He says that the ruined city of the devil is already fallen. [This may be] *either* in accordance with the manner of Scripture *which is wont* to place *in the past what it knows will inevitably be fulfilled [in the future]; or else that the proud,* when they are puffed up by the Devil, *are cast down by the Lord*; as the Psalmist says, *when they were lifted up you have cast them down*.[697]

WHICH MADE ALL NATIONS DRINK THE WINE OF THE WRATH OF HER FORNICATION.

The city of the wicked, gathered *from all the nations*, *makes* these nations (that is, its own members) *drunk* with the wine of *error*.[698] But the city of the Lord, tending the vineyard of Sorek,[699] does not wish to be *drunk with wine, in which is debauchery*,[700] lest it lose the promised wages of life.[701]

[14:9] **[And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice:] IF ANY ONE WILL HAVE WORSHIPPED THE BEAST AND HIS IMAGE …**

That is, the devil, and the head which was, *as it were, slain*.[702] ***/429/***

AND RECEIVE THE MARK ON HIS FOREHEAD OR ON HIS HAND,

When he says *on his forehead or on his hand*, he means that the devil marks some by an abominable *profession*, and some by *deeds* alone.[703]

[14:10] **HE ALSO SHALL DRINK THE WINE OF THE WRATH OF GOD, WHICH IS MIXED WITH PURE WINE IN THE CUP OF HIS WRATH; …**

When [the Scripture] *says that he shall 'also' drink*, *it indicates that there*

697 Primasius 14.175-183, quoting Ps. 72(73):18. Based on Tyconius 5.3 (189); cf. Caesarius 249.2-3 and Beatus 7.1.8.

698 Primasius 14.184-197; based on Tyconius 5.4 (190); cf. Beatus 7.1.11-12. However, the phrase 'of the wicked' is not in Primasius or Tyconius, but is paralleled in Caesarius 249.4-6.

699 'Sorek' means 'wine' or 'vine'; cf. Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in Genesim*, on Gen. 49:11, ed. Paul de Lagarde, CCSL 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959), 53.14–54.18**.** It also occurs in Isa. 5:2 (where the word is actually transcribed in the Septuagint), and Jer. 2:21. Bede (or his source) is probably thinking of the 'Song of the Vineyard' in Isa. 5.

700 Eph. 5:18.

701 Matt. 20:2.

702 Tyconius 5.5 (190), alluding to Rev. 13:3. Cf. Beatus 7.1.14.

703 Augustine, *DCD* 20.9 (718.109-110): not in Gryson's apparatus. See also Bede's exegesis of Rev. 13:16.

is another person as well who will have drunk; *this is so as not to exclude the one who, although he does not mix openly with the gentiles, nonetheless worships the same Beast under the name of Christ*.[704] For it is with justice that they who proffer the cup of fornication should be laid low by the cup of the Lord's wrath – not, as Jeremiah says, that they may vomit[705] forth the malice of their heart and so be purged, but that they may perish as the damned in an eternal death of stupefaction.

AND SHALL BE TORMENTED WITH FIRE AND SULPHUR IN THE SIGHT OF THE HOLY ANGELS, [and in the sight of the Lamb. [14:11] **And the smoke of their torment shall ascend for ever and ever; …]**

The saints who reign with God can always see the punishment of the wicked, so that in giving greater thanks to him who delivered them, they might sing the mercies of the Lord forever. For the sight of the anguish of the wicked does not sadden those who are of one mind with the just Judge, just as the sight of Lazarus in repose was not able to refresh the rich man buried in flames.[706]

NOR HAVE THEY REST DAY NOR NIGHT, THOSE WHO HAVE WORSHIPPED THE BEAST AND HIS IMAGE, …

They say that a lion will spare a prostrate man,[707] but this beast, more ferocious than a lion, inflicts greater punishments the more he is adored. ***/431/***

AND WHOEVER RECEIVED THE MARK OF HIS NAME.

St Augustine interprets the Beast as *the impious city*, and *his image as his simulation* – that is, *Christians in feigned appearance* – and the mark as *the sign of guilt* which, he says, is worshipped, *is subordinated to him, and assents to him*.[708]

[14:12] **HERE IS THE PATIENCE OF THE SAINTS [who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.]**

Though the Beast vent his rage, temporal suffering shall not sadden the

704 Tyconius 5.5 (190): cf. Beatus 7.1.15-16.

705 Jer. 25:27.

706 Cf. Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 2.40.7-8 (404.268-269, 405.294-297); quoted by Bede, *In Lucam* 5 (370-382).

707 Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 12.2.6: reference not noted by Gryson.

708 Augustine, *DCD* 20.9 (718. 95-108). Notice the Augustinian concept of the 'simulated body', contrasting with Tyconius's 'bipartite body'; see Introduction, p. 69.

saints, for it will be rewarded with eternal beatitude when the tables are turned and they see their persecutors, who lorded it over them for a while, suffering eternal punishment with the Beast.

[14:13] **AND I HEARD A VOICE FROM HEAVEN, SAYING: WRITE: …**

Lovely is the harmony of those who now make proclamation.[709] For look! this one proclaims that the kingdom of the Lord is come, and that one that the city of the Devil is fallen; another announces the flames of the ungodly, and another the repose of the blessed, who both sends forth his voice from heaven, and pronounces it worthy to be committed in writing to everlasting memory. For the righteous rejoice because their *names are written in heaven*;[710] but the wicked are erased from the book of the living.[711]

BLESSED ARE THE DEAD WHO DIE IN THE LORD.

I thank you, Jesus, who bless in heaven those who meet their death on earth in you. How much more [do you bless] those who lay down their happy souls in you, and for the sake of your faith?

FROM NOW AND HENCEFORTH, SAYS THE SPIRIT, THAT THEY MAY REST FROM THEIR LABOURS; FOR THEIR DEEDS FOLLOW THEM.

Just as he had said that the *ungodly would never have rest*, even so, by contrast, he teaches that *the faithful, **/433/*** sustained by their previous *labours*,[712] rest *from now on*, that is, from the time of death. For *when he has given his beloved sleep, this is the inheritance of the Lord*.[713] But *because of the cold, the sluggard would not plough: he shall therefore beg in summer, and nothing shall be given to him*.[714]

XXV

[14:14] **AND I SAW, AND BEHOLD, A WHITE CLOUD AND UPON THE CLOUD ONE SITTING LIKE THE SON OF MAN, …**

Now that the voice of the heralds has sounded forth, it remains to show the

709 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XXIV (see Appendix).
710 Luke 10:20.
711 Rev. 3:5.
712 Primasius 14.220-222.
713 Ps. 126(127):2-3.
714 Prov. 20:4.

person of the Judge himself[715] who, coming to judgement, veils the glory of his divinity in a cloud of flesh, so that the wicked may *look on him whom they pierced*.[716]

HAVING A CROWN OF GOLD ON HIS HEAD …
[The Scripture] described what this crown is like above, in the vesture of the woman – *and on her head a crown of twelve stars*[717] – although it can also signify the victory of him who reigns.

AND A SHARP SICKLE IN HIS HAND.
That is, *the judicial sentence of separation*[718] which *can in no way be avoided*. Indeed, we are included *within it, no matter where we try to escape*. *For whatever is cut down by a sickle, falls inside it [i.e. inside its compass]*.[719]

[14:15] **AND ANOTHER ANGEL CAME OUT FROM THE TEMPLE, CRYING WITH A LOUD VOICE TO HIM WHO SAT UPON THE CLOUD: …**
The angels who, as we read in the Gospel, are *the reapers*[720] of the earth and who are all *ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation*,[721] and they weigh the several merits of the Church, and relate them daily to the Lord.

PUT IN YOUR SICKLE AND REAP, BECAUSE THE HOUR TO REAP HAS COME; */435/* FOR THE HARVEST OF THE EARTH IS RIPE. [14:16] **[And he who sat on the cloud put his sickle into the earth; and the earth was reaped.]**
Behold, they say, with *iniquity abounding the charity of many grew cold*,[722] and with the heat of evils pressing down upon it, the harvest of the world has now almost ceased to be verdant. Therefore, lest the grain which is now ripe should fail, *shorten those days for the sake of the elect*;[723] consign the straw and tares to the flames, and the heavenly fruit to granaries of bliss.[724]

715 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XXV (see Appendix).
716 John 19:37; cf. Rev. 1:7.
717 Rev. 12:1.
718 Primasius 14.242-243.
719 Gregory, *Mor.* 33.21 (1691.23-27).
720 Primasius 14.248-249, referring to Matt. 13:39.
721 Heb. 1:14.
722 Matt. 24:12.
723 Matt. 24:22.
724 Cf. Matt. 13:24-43.

[14:17] **AND ANOTHER ANGEL CAME OUT OF THE TEMPLE IN HEAVEN, HE ALSO HAVING A SHARP SICKLE.**
If Christ was seen in the white cloud as the reaper, *who is the vintager but he?*[725] – an elegant repetition because of the two-fold fruit of the Church. For he who sowed good seed in his field also planted a vineyard in a fruitful place, but both plantations degenerated for want of care from their custodians.[726]

[14:18] **AND ANOTHER ANGEL CAME OUT FROM THE ALTAR, WHO HAD POWER OVER FIRE. AND HE CRIED WITH A LOUD VOICE [to him who had the sharp sickle,] …**
As Jerome says, *the function of angels is two-fold. There are some who distribute rewards to the good, and others who preside over specific torments*.[727] As it is said, *He makes his angels spirits and his ministers a flaming fire*.[728] The two angels who proclaim that the harvest is dry and the vineyard ripe can be understood as the prayers of the Church, which with a great voice – that is, with great desire – daily implores that the kingdom of God may come,

SAYING: PUT IN YOUR SHARP SICKLE AND GATHER THE CLUSTERS OF THE VINE OF THE EARTH, …
Like the harvest, the vintage is in part earthly, in part heavenly. The ripeness of both is a sign of the end of the world-age [*saeculum*]. ***/437/***

BECAUSE ITS GRAPES ARE RIPE.
That is, its sins are come to an end, although ripeness can also be said to refer to the perfection of the good. For as Pope St Gregory says, *Although the end of the world comes in its own time, nevertheless it will be made known when it overtakes certain perverse people, because they will be crushed in its ruins, as they deserve*.[729]

[14:19] **AND THE ANGEL PUT HIS SHARP SICKLE INTO THE EARTH AND GATHERED THE VINE OF THE EARTH …**
He who has the sickle for harvesting, also has one for the vintage. For the

725 Tyconius 5.17 (192): cf. Caesarius 249.12-14; Beatus 7.2.17-18.

726 An allusion to the parable of the wheat and the tares in Matt. 13:24-30, and to the 'Song of the Vineyard' in Isa. 5:1 *sqq.* Bede here expresses what would become his lifelong concern with the consequences of the negligence of the clergy.

727 Jerome, *In Dan.* 2.7.10 (846.656-658).

728 Ps. 103(104):4; cf. Heb. 1:7.

729 Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 35.2 (323.62-64).

judgement *is one, and will be carried out at a single time. But in harvest and vintage he shows the beginning and the end of the same affliction.*[730]

AND THREW IT INTO THE GREAT VAT or **WINE PRESS**[731] **OF THE WRATH OF GOD;** [14:20] **AND THE VAT WAS TRODDEN OUTSIDE THE CITY; …**

If this harvest and vintage pertain only to the evil, the wine press signifies punishment. But if to the good as well, the treading of the wine press and the threshing sledges on the floor crush what is useless, and test what is useful. As the Apostle says, precious metal is proved in the fire, but wood and straw and hay are consumed.[732] Both these events take place outside the heavenly Jerusalem.[733] The wine press of wrath is designated by that type of locution by which it is said, *The Lord delivered him in the evil day*.[734]

AND BLOOD CAME OUT OF THE WINE PRESS AS HIGH AS THE HORSES' BRIDLES, …

Vengeance went forth, even against the rulers of the people. For *in the final conflict* the vengeance *of the blood shed by the saints* went forth even *against the devil and his angels*. As it is written, *You have sinned in blood, and the blood pursues you*.[735] The horses were discussed above. ***/439/***

FOR ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED STADIA.

That is, through all four parts of the world. The quaternity is squared, just as the four four-sided faces and the wheels. Four times four hundred is one thousand six hundred.[736] Tyconius interprets the harvester and the vintager as the Church, glowing after the *flames of the persecutions*, and holding the *power to bind and loose*. [He says that] the *angels* proclaim the supreme government [*imperium*] of the Lord *from temple* or altar, *not aloud, but*

730 Tyconius 5.17 (192): cf. Primasius 14.269-273; Beatus 7.2.16-17.

731 *lacum siue torcular*: the latter reading is the one generally accepted.

732 The overall idea is from Primasius 14.282-283, but the quotation from 1 Cor. 3:12-13 is original with Bede.

733 Cf. Tyconius 5.19 (193); Primasius 14.280-281; Caesarius 249.20; Beatus 7.2.21. None of these authors, however, identifies the city explicitly as the heavenly Jerusalem; instead, they allegorize it as the Church.

734 Ps. 40(41):1.

735 Tyconius 5.20 (193), including quotation from Ezek. 35:6: cf. Caesarius 249.23-25; Primasius 14.285-288, 290-291; Beatus 7.2.35-36.

736 The ultimate source is Tyconius 5.21 (194), drawing on Victorinus/Jerome 14.4 (135.15-137.2): cf. parallel passages in Caesarius 249.25-27, Primasius 14.291-294, The 'four-sided faces and the wheels' refers to the vision of Ezek. 10:9-14.

by the suggestion of the Holy Spirit who works within [the Lord's] body, teaching that now is the time for the wicked to be anathematized. And he has power over fire – the fire, that is, *which went out of the mouth of the witnesses*[737] and consumed their enemies.[738] So much for the conflict of the Church, and the ultimate end of both battles.

HERE ENDS THE SECOND BOOK.

737 Bede is weaving together Tyconius 5.9 (191), 5.17 (192), 5.12 (191), and 5:15 (192); cf. Beatus 7.2.1-2, 18, 8-9, 13. ' …holding the power to bind and loose': cf. Matt. 18:18.

738 Cf. Rev. 11:5.

HERE BEGINS THE THIRD BOOK

XXVI

[15:1] **AND I SAW ANOTHER SIGN IN HEAVEN, GREAT AND WONDERFUL …**
Returning to the sequence, and preparing to rehearse the same plagues of the final persecution, [John] wished to make his audience attentive by saying 'a sign …great and wonderful'.[739]

SEVEN ANGELS …
That is, the *Church*,[740] filled with sevenfold grace.

HAVING THE SEVEN LAST PLAGUES; FOR IN THEM THE WRATH OF GOD IS FINISHED.
He called these the 'last' *because the wrath of God always strikes insolent people with seven plagues, that is, utterly, as is often found in Leviticus: 'I will strike you with seven plagues', he says. These final things will come to pass when the Church goes out from its midst.*[741]

[15:2] **AND I SAW SOMETHING LIKE A SEA OF GLASS MINGLED WITH FIRE; …**
That is, the pellucid fountain of baptism, consecrated by the fire of the Holy Spirit, or else reddened by martyrdom, referring to the quality of fire.[742]

AND THOSE WHO HAD OVERCOME THE BEAST AND HIS IMAGE, [and the number of his name,] STANDING BESIDE THE SEA OF GLASS …
Those who conquer the deceptions of the Beast are consequently seen

739 Primasius 15.2-4; the concept of repeating the narrative of the final persecution derives from Victorinus/Jerome 15 (137.4).

740 Tyconius 5.22 (194): cf. Caesarius 250.4; Primasius 15.5; Beatus 7.3.1.

741 Ultimately from Victorinus/Jerome 15 (137.6-8), but mediated through Tyconius 5.22 (194), including quotation from Lev. 26:24: cf. parallels in Caesarius 250.5-8 and Beatus 7.3.2-3.

742 Tyconius 5.23 (194); cf. Primasius 15.7-9; Caesarius 250.8-9; Beatus 7.3.5.

standing over a fiery baptism,[743] zealous (according to the Apostle) *to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints*.[744] ***/443/***

HAVING THE HARPS OF GOD; [15:3] **AND SINGING THE SONG OF MOSES THE SERVANT OF GOD, AND THE SONG OF THE LAMB, …**

That is, bearing the *hearts of those who give praise, dedicated to God*,[745] *and melodious with the truth of both Testaments. Or else, having flesh stretched out upon the wood of suffering, in which is signified not only the sound of the voice, but the accomplishment of a good deed*.[746]

[saying:] GREAT AND WONDERFUL ARE YOUR DEEDS, O LORD GOD ALMIGHTY. JUST AND TRUE ARE YOUR WAYS, O KING OF THE AGES and the rest. **[**[15.4] **Who shall not fear you, O Lord, and magnify your name? For you alone are holy; for all nations shall come and shall worship in your sight, because your judgements are manifest.]** This song is found *in both Testaments*,[747] where the Lord, both true and merciful, is hymned as the judge worthy to be worshipped for all time.[748]

XXVII

He repeats what he has already set forth, saying:[749]

[15:5] **AND AFTER THESE THINGS, I LOOKED, AND BEHOLD, THE TEMPLE OF THE TABERNACLE OF THE TESTIMONY IN HEAVEN WAS OPENED.**

The vision corresponds to the song, for in order that the Lord might be adored by all the nations, that temple of the secrets of God, once shut up within the ramparts of a single city, now starts to be opened up in a spiritual manner to the whole world.

743 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XXVI (see Appendix). The phrase 'standing over' (*superstare*) echoes the lemma's *stantes supra (mare vitreum)*, which can best be rendered into English as 'standing beside'.

744 Jude 3.

745 Tyconius 5.24 (194): cf. Caesarius 250.11; Primasius 15.19. The word 'hearts' – *corda* – puns with *chorda*, the string of an instrument like a harp.

746 Primasius 15.19-21.

747 Tyconius 5.24 (194): cf. Caesarius 250.14; Primasius 15.33-34; Beatus 7.3.16. The song of the saints in Revelation echoes the Song of Moses, Deut. 32:4.

748 An allusion to Ps. 24(25):10, quoted by Primasius 15.35.

749 Tyconius 5.25 (195): cf. Caesarius 250.15; Beatus 7.3.16, referring to Rev. 11:19.

[15:6] **AND THE SEVEN ANGELS CAME OUT OF THE TEMPLE, HAVING THE SEVEN PLAGUES …**
This is what Mark says: *But they, going forth, preached everywhere*.[750]

CLOTHED WITH CLEAN AND WHITE STONE …[751]
The Apostle says: *For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ*.[752] For he is *the chief corner-stone, the chosen*.[753] Or if you understand the singular number to stand for the plural, it signifies the various ornaments of the virtues.[754] ***/445/*** Another version reads *white linen*, indicating *mortification*[755] of the flesh in those who teach, as it is written: *But I chastise my body and bring it into subjection; lest perchance when I have preached to others, I myself should become a castaway*.[756]

AND GIRDED ABOUT THE BREAST WITH GOLDEN GIRDLES.
He who wishes to preach mighty things should not only mortify the body but also bind his breast with *the gold of wisdom*.[757] Or at least, to bind their breasts with golden girdles is *to restrain all motions of mutable thought by the bond of love for God alone*.[758]

[15:7] **AND ONE OF THE FOUR LIVING CREATURES GAVE TO THE SEVEN ANGELS SEVEN GOLDEN VIALS, FULL OF THE WRATH OF GOD, WHO LIVES [for ever and ever].**
These are the vials which, along with the incense, the living creatures and the elders bear; they are the Church, and so also the seven angels.[759] *These same vials are said to contain both the sweetness of supplication and the*

750 Mark 16:20 (previously cited in exegesis of Rev. 4:5); cf. (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 222.5-6, where the seven angels are also linked to preaching; Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede', pp. 403–404.

751 Bede's text reads *linteamen candidum*, which is not the reading of Primasius (*lintea*) or of Tyconius, insofar as the latter is reflected in Caesarius and Beatus (*linum*). Gryson notes that *linteamen* occurs in the branch of the Vetus Latina represented by the Codex Gigas (Stockholm, Kunglingabiblioteket A 148), traces of which must have infiltrated some manuscript of the Vulgate available to Bede: Bede ed. Introduction, pp. 182–183.

752 Gal. 3:27.

753 1 Pet. 2:6.

754 *uaria uirtutum ornamenta*: Bede seems to have borrowed this phrase from Jerome, *In. Is.* 7.51 (868.40-41); he re-uses it in his *In Prov.* 3 (383-384).

755 Primasius 15.61.

756 1 Cor. 9:27.

757 Primasius 15.65.

758 Gregory, *Mor.* 34.26 (1752.20-22).

759 Tyconius 5.27 (195): cf. Caesarius 250.24-26; Beatus 7.4.12.

wrath of punishment. For they are poured out by the saints for the sake of the coming of the kingdom of God, at which time it is foretold that the judgements of God, no longer hidden like the abyss but open like vials, while bearing salvation for the just, will carry destruction for the ungodly. As the Apostle says: 'For we are the aroma of Christ to God, in those that are saved and in those who perish'.[760]

[15:8] **AND THE TEMPLE WAS FILLED WITH SMOKE FROM HIS MAJESTY**[761] **AND FROM HIS POWER; …**

The Church, preparing to preach to the nations, first warms herself with the fire of charity, ***/447/*** and emits the *smoke* of pious *confession*,[762] *giving thanks to God for his unspeakable gift*.[763]

AND NO ONE WAS ABLE TO ENTER INTO THE TEMPLE UNTIL THE SEVEN PLAGUES OF THE SEVEN ANGELS WERE ENDED.

No one can be incorporated into the members of the Church[764] save one who learns from preachers by listening to the mysteries of the faith, that Jesus *is established by God as the judge of the living and the dead*.[765] If you interpret *the smoke* as *the hidden secrets of God's judgement*,[766] these things remain closed and impenetrable to mortals until, when the plagues of this present age are over, the Lord shall come. He will both shed light upon *the hidden things of darkness*,[767] and show how beneficial the coming of Antichrist is, either for testing the faith of the Church, or for blinding the Jews *who did not receive the love of the truth, that they might be saved*.[768]

[16:1] **[And I heard a great voice from out the temple saying to the seven angels:] GO AND POUR OUT THE SEVEN VIALS OF THE WRATH OF GOD ON THE EARTH.**

760 Primasius 15.74-80, quoting 2 Cor. 2:15. Bede adds 'to God' to Primasius's citation, in accordance with the Vulgate.

761 The Vulgate reads 'majesty of God'; Bede 'his majesty': cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 184.

762 Primasius 15.93. However, Bede departs from Primasius's interpretation, which does not mention the Church, and focuses on the confession *of sinners*.

763 2 Cor. 9:15.

764 'Incorporated into the members of the Church (*ecclesiae membris incorporari*)' is a phrase which Bede will use often: e.g. *In Sam.* 2 (2264 and 2291-2292); *In Ez.* 2 (924); *In Marcum* 1 (1000); *In Lucam* 2 (128.1100); *Cath. Ep.* on 1 Peter 5.5 (257.59).

765 Acts 10:42.

766 Primasius 15.85-87.

767 1 Cor. 4:5.

768 2 Thess. 2:10.

Power is given *to the Church to pass judgement on those destined for damnation, and mercifully to give absolution to the converted*.[769] Indeed, all the angels are commanded to *pour out …upon the earth*, but worldly men are designated by different words because of the variety of sins, so that the plenitude of punishment as well as of preaching[770] and vindication might be perceived in the number seven.

[16:2] **AND THE FIRST WENT AND POURED OUT HIS VIAL ON THE EARTH: …**

Preachers pour out the vials of the wrath of God in two ways – when they impose by spiritual judgement the punishment of the ungodly upon the impious themselves (as Peter says to Simon: *Keep your money to yourself, to perish with you*[771]), ***/449/*** and when by preaching they show [the ungodly] to Holy Church. As the same man said: *Whose judgement has not ceased from of old; and their perdition does not slumber*.[772] It can be understood a third way: any sinner who has heard the preaching of truth is smitten with the greater wound of contradiction. The Lord says of such people: *If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have sin*.[773]

AND A SEVERE AND EVIL WOUND BEFELL THE MEN WHO HAD THE MARK OF THE BEAST; [and those who worshipped his image.]

Those who, forsaking the Lord, worship the devil shall spiritually perish by the terrible wound of this same impiety.[774]

[16:3] **AND THE SECOND ANGEL POURED HIS VIAL INTO THE SEA; AND IT BECAME BLOOD, LIKE THAT OF A DEAD MAN; AND EVERY LIVING SOUL DIED IN THE SEA.**

Those who not only are signed with the mark of Antichrist, but who also assail the steadfastness of the servants of Christ by waves of bitter persecution, will now be punished by spiritual vengeance, which [John] calls *blood*. And those who boasted that they are alive, are proved to have served the

769 Primasius 16.3-6; possibly from Tyconius 5.29 (196), cf. Beatus pr. 5.43.

770 Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede', p. 403 cites (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium*, 222.5-6 as the source of this passage, but the parallels are rather tenuous: the angels and the vials are simply identified with preachers and preaching.

771 Acts 8:20.

772 2 Pet. 2:3.

773 John 15:22.

774 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XXVII (see Appendix).

author of death.[775]

[16:4] **AND THE THIRD POURED HIS VIAL INTO THE RIVERS AND FOUNTAINS OF WATERS: AND THEY BECAME BLOOD.**
And those also who pretend to offer sweet things [to drink] in order to pour their poison into the imprudent, will be punished with the fitting vengeance of an everlasting plague.

[16:5] **AND I HEARD THE ANGEL OF THE WATERS SAYING: YOU ARE JUST, O LORD, WHO IS, AND WHO WAS, THE HOLY ONE, BECAUSE YOU HAVE JUDGED THESE THINGS.** [16:6] **For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and you have given them blood to drink; for they deserve it.]**
In *the angel of the waters*, he refers to all the angels *of the peoples*,[776] *who sound the divine praises in inward agreement*[777] in that he, in avenging *the blood of* his servants, has caused their murderers to drink to their death. ***/451/***

[16:7] **AND I HEARD ANOTHER FROM THE ALTAR, SAYING:[778] YEA, O LORD GOD ALMIGHTY, YOUR JUDGEMENTS ARE TRUE AND JUST.**
What the angels are, here also is the one who from the altar *gives thanks to God*[779] – the inner devotion of the saints or angels or men who are set over the people to teach them.

[16:8] **AND THE FOURTH ANGEL POURED OUT HIS VIAL ON THE SUN: AND IT WAS ALLOWED TO AFFLICT MEN WITH HEAT AND FIRE.**
The persecutors of the Church who try to dry up the seed of the word of God like the blazing sun,[780] are to be burned in *the fire of hell to come*.[781] Or if you interpret the sun as the *splendour* of the *wise*,[782] it is not the angel

775 'are proved to have served the author of death': Bede re-used this phrase in *In Prov.* 2 (92).

776 Tyconius 5.31 (197): cf. Caesarius 251.19-20; Primasius 16.85; Beatus 8.3.24.

777 Primasius 16.86.

778 The Vulgate reads *altare dicens*, but Bede *alterum dicentem ab altari*: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 184.

779 Tyconius 5.32 (197): cf. Beatus 8.3.28. In Beatus, it is the altar itself, identified as the Church, which gives thanks: see preceding note.

780 An allusion to Matt. 13:6.

781 Tyconius 5.34 (197): Caesarius 251.23; Beatus 8.4.2. Primasius (16.108-109) explicitly rejects this interpretation.

782 Gregory, *Mor.* 34.25 (1750.30-32).

who drowns the sun but the sun itself which is allowed *to afflict men with heat and fire. For when wise men, overcome with affliction, are touched by the error of evil doing, some weak folk, persuaded by their example, are scorched by temporal desires*.[783] Nonetheless, as we said, the heat can be understood as the fact that *the devil's body is tormented without remedy by the steadfastness of the saints, and provoked to blasphemy*.[784] The prophet says: *Wrath took hold of the people who lacked understanding, and now fire consumes the enemies*.[785] He expressly says 'and now', evidently making an exception for the fire of the Last Judgement.

[16:9] **AND MEN WERE SCORCHED WITH THE GREAT HEAT, [and they blasphemed the name of God, who had power over these plagues: nor did they repent, to give him glory.]**
For the time being, and to the degree that he is permitted to do so, the devil makes his followers radiant. The Holy Spirit describes this radiance and happiness as plagues and sorrows.[786] For we read above[787] that the devil's army slew men ***/453/*** by fire, smoke and brimstone. He did not slay them openly, but doomed those who complied with him to these punishments.[788]

[16:10] **AND THE FIFTH ANGEL POURED OUT HIS VIAL ON THE THRONE OF THE BEAST: AND HIS KINGDOM BECAME DARK …**
The throne of the Beast, that is*, his kingdom (as it were, [his] judicial power),* is darkened *by the false happiness of this plague*, that is, *by earthly felicity*,[789] and is made a stranger to the light. As the Psalm says: *When they were lifted up, you cast them down*.[790] For he did not say 'after they were lifted up'.

AND THEY GNAWED THEIR TONGUES IN PAIN.
Just as the righteous man will eat the fruits of his labours,[791] so the wicked

783 Gregory, *Mor.* 34.25 (1750.33–1751.35).
784 Primasius 16.13-14.
785 Isa. 26:11; quoted by Primasius 16.129-130 in the Vetus Latina translation.
786 Tyconius 5.34 (197): cf. Caesarius 251.23-26; Beatus 8.4.4.
787 Rev. 9:18.
788 Tyconius 5.34 (197): cf. Beatus 8.4.2-3.
789 Most of this passage is from Primasius 16.132-134, but the phrase *of this plague* is found only in Caesarius 252.2. Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, p. 129, claims that the entire exegesis of 16:10 is a collection of short quotations from Tyconius; Gryson's apparatus names only Primasius.
790 Ps. 72(73):18.
791 Ps. 127(128):1-2.

man, exposed to the punishment that befits his blasphemy, is sated, as it were, with his own tongue. Therefore *they did themselves harm, blaspheming because of the anger of God; pierced by [God's anger], they counted it joy*.[792]

[16:11] **AND THEY BLASPHEMED THE GOD OF HEAVEN, BECAUSE OF THEIR PAINS AND WOUNDS; [and did not repent their works.]**

[John] did not refer to their hardness, but to the just indignation of God who sent this type of plague, *in which they shall not recollect* [their sins]. For who, when he is *afflicted in body*, does not feel *the hand of God*, [793] as Antiochus did?[794] For he said that 'they blasphemed' – not openly, but by revelling in sin.

XXVIII

[16:12] **AND THE SIXTH ANGEL POURED OUT HIS VIAL INTO THAT GREAT RIVER EUPHRATES, AND DRIED UP ITS WATER, TO PREPARE THE WAY FOR THE KINGS FROM THE RISING OF THE SUN.**

While the people perish,[795] the wealth of Babylon, in which there is nothing living, nothing green, nothing not fit for the fire, ***/455/*** will remain.[796] This is what [the Scripture] *said earlier: The harvest of the earth is dried*,[797] and the *holy kings* make haste *to meet* the Sun of Righteousness.[798] Another [interpretation]: just as *while the wicked man is proud, the poor is set on fire*,[799] so *the wise man gains greater insight while the pestilent is scourged*.[800] *[Scripture] recapitulates briefly from the beginning, in its usual way, passing over the seventh angel*.[801]

792 Tyconius 5.37 (198): cf. Caesarius 252.3-4; Beatus 8.5.2-4.

793 Tyconius 5.35 (198): cf. Caesarius 251.28-30; Beatus 8.4.6-7.

794 As recounted in 2 Macc. 9. On Antiochus as a type of Antichrist, see Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 24–25. Tyconius was also interested in the Maccabees as types of Christian martyrdom: cf. Bede's exegesis of Rev. 6:9.

795 The identification of the river Euphrates with the people is from Tyconius 5.38 (198): cf. Caesarius 252.6-7; Beatus 8.6.1.

796 'in which …fire': cf. Primasius 16.148-150.

797 Tyconius 5.38 (198), referring to Rev. 14:15: cf. Beatus 8.6.1-2; Primasius 16.148-153.

798 Tyconius 5.39 (198): cf. Caesarius 252.9-10; Beatus 8.6.3. The phrase 'Sun of Righteousness' is original with Bede, and comes from Mal. 4:2; it is traditionally seen as a prophecy and title of Christ.

799 Ps. 9b:2 (10:2).

800 Prov. 19:25.

801 Tyconius 5.40 (198): cf. Caesarius 252.13-14; Beatus 8.6.3.

[16:13] **AND I SAW COMING FROM THE MOUTH OF THE DRAGON, AND FROM THE MOUTH OF THE BEAST, AND FROM THE MOUTH OF THE FALSE PROPHET, THREE UNCLEAN SPIRITS LIKE FROGS.**

The spirit of the *Devil* and of Antichrist and of the *chieftains of his body*, which is described as *three*fold, *standing for a number of parts in one body*,[802] is compared with frogs – creatures horrifying for their *habitat, their appearance, and their nasty clamour*.[803] *Though they seem to inhabit bodies of water, they* nonetheless *wallow in mud and filth. Hypocrites* who promise the water of life to their followers, *lie dead in the filth which believers leave behind in the water* [*i.e.* of baptism].[804] *Thus Pharaoh*, *who dared to follow the people into baptism in order to kill them*, was slain *himself*.[805]

[16:14] **FOR THEY ARE THE SPIRITS OF DEMONS, WORKING SIGNS; …**

Thus it is to be believed that these men will work signs, just like the magicians of Pharaoh. It is not without purpose that [John] calls them to mind by mentioning frogs, but rather to proclaim that the ministers of Satan will also then work similar signs. For the [Egyptian] magicians were allowed to prevail with their spells up until the sign of the [plague of] frogs.[806]

AND THEY GO FORTH TO THE KINGS OF THE WHOLE EARTH, TO GATHER THEM */457/* FOR BATTLE ON THE GREAT DAY OF ALMIGHTY GOD.

Just as those kings for whom a way from the east is opened when the Euphrates is dried up[807] are holy, so also the wicked are called 'kings of the earth';[808] they are *not* gathered *into one place from the whole world*, but each nation afflicts the saints in its own land.[809] *The great day of the Lord means the whole time from the Lord's passion*. It can also be taken as *the day of judgement*,[810] when

802 Tyconius 5.41 (198); cf. Caesarius 252.16-19; Beatus 8.7.3-4; Primasius 16.162-168.

803 Primasius 16.172-173; cf. Caesarius 252.20-21 (not in Gryson's apparatus).

804 Tyconius 5.42 (199): cf. Caesarius 252.21-25; Beatus 8.7.6-7.

805 Tyconius 5.42 (199): cf. Beatus 8.7.8. On the comparison of the Exodus to baptism, see 1 Cor. 10:2.

806 Primasius 16.197-202. The allusion is to Exod. 8:1-7; the plague of frogs was the last miracle performed by Aaron which the Egyptian magicians were capable of duplicating.

807 Rev. 16:12.

808 Based on Tyconius 5.43 (199); cf. Beatus 8.7.9.

809 Tyconius 5.43 (199): cf. Primasius 16.203-205; Beatus 8.7.13.

810 Tyconius 5.43 (199): cf. Caesarius 253.10-13; Primasius 16.206-207, 209-211; Beatus 8.7.14.

the Devil's army, gathered throughout the whole time of this present life, will advance to meet the Lord, the King, that it might be utterly defeated.

[16:15] **BEHOLD, I COME LIKE A THIEF.**
The other version reads, more appropriately: *on the great day of Almighty God. Behold, it comes like a thief.*[811]

BLESSED IS HE WHO WATCHES AND GUARDS HIS GARMENTS, LEST HE GO NAKED, AND THEY SEE HIS SHAME.
Blessed are they …whose sins are covered,[812] *who conceal the baseness of their wicked life before the eyes of the just at the judgement with a veil of subsequent good deeds*.[813] And in the Gospel, the Lord commands his servants to keep watch through the metaphor of the thief, against whom a guard should be mounted.[814]

[16:16] **AND HE SHALL GATHER THEM TOGETHER AT THE PLACE WHICH IN HEBREW IS CALLED ARMAGEDDON.**
Elsewhere he describes this place, saying: *He gathered them together to battle … and compassed the camp of the saints, and the beloved city*, that is, the Church.[815] On the other hand, the place of the wicked, the Devil, can also be understood. With the tumour of his usurped ***/459/*** godhead swollen up in the man of perdition, [the Devil] will rejoice to recover his earlier ambuscades – those, that is, which God formerly forbade him. For Armageddon means 'a rising together into what was before', or 'round-top mountain'.[816]

[16:17] **AND THE SEVENTH ANGEL POURED HIS VIAL INTO THE AIR; AND A LOUD VOICE CAME OUT OF THE TEMPLE FROM THE THRONE, SAYING: IT IS DONE.**
Just as previously the blood of vengeance was poured forth *up to horses' bridles*,[817] that is, upon the unclean spirits, so here, since the final vengeance has been poured forth upon the same airy powers, it is said that *It is done*, that is, the end is here,[818] when (as the Apostle says) *the enemy, death, shall*

811 'Behold, it comes as a thief': Tyconius's reading, 5.43-44 (199-201). It is preserved in Beatus 8.7.30: Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 181.

812 Ps. 31(32):1.

813 Gregory, *Mor.* 2.81 (108.4–109.6).

814 Matt. 24:43, Luke 12:39.

815 Tyconius 5.44 (201): cf. Caesarius 255.22-23; Primasius 16.220-222; Beatus 8.7.33-34. The embedded quotation is Rev. 20:7-8.

816 Jerome, *Lib. int.* 159.11-13.

817 Rev. 14:20.

818 Cf. Tyconius 4.45 (201); Beatus 8.8.1.

be destroyed last.[819] Hitherto, the final persecution is described as plagues, all of which Tyconius understands in the opposite sense. *It is an incurable plague*, he says, *and a great wrath, to receive the power to sin, particularly against the saints, and not yet to be destroyed by the greater violence of God.*[820] For the increase of the happiness of the wicked is their death, just as on the other hand the torment and humiliation of the Church is its glory. *At that time, the wicked people in its entirety will not be injured by any bodily plague, as if it had received complete power to vent its rage.*[821] *For scourging the wicked and restraining their rage would not serve the purpose of filling up the number of sinners, or consummating the wrath [of God].*[822] [John] recapitulates from the same persecution, describing the ruin of the wicked city.[823] ***/461/***

XXIX

[16:18] **AND THERE WERE FLASHES OF LIGHTNING, AND VOICES, AND CLAPS OF THUNDER; AND THERE WAS A GREAT EARTHQUAKE, SUCH AS NEVER HAD BEEN SINCE THERE WERE MEN [upon the earth, so great an earthquake,.]**

When at the end of the age there will be *great tribulation, such as has not been from the beginning of the world*,[824] the greatest signs will likewise appear. *But whether they will appear from the side of the good or from the side of the wicked or from both sides together, like [the signs] done before Pharaoh by Moses and the magicians, is not adequately explained here*.[825]

[16:19] **AND THE GREAT CITY WAS DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS; …**

The godless city launches a three-fold war against the Church of Christ: the Gentiles and Jews besiege her in open battle, the heretics by treacherous

819 1 Cor. 15:26.

820 Tyconius 5.31 (197); cf. Caesarius 251.14-16; Beatus pr. 5.47 and 8.3.5.

821 Tyconius 5.30 (196); cf. Beatus pr. 5.44 and 8.1.28.

822 Tyconius 5.30 (196); cf. Beatus 8.1.29. Bede elides the notion of 'plague' and 'scourging' because the Latin word *plaga* covers both concepts.

823 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XXIX (see Appendix). The idea is from Tyconius 5.45 (201): cf. Caesarius 253.20-21; Primasius 16.225; Beatus 8.8.2.

824 Tyconius 5.46 (202): cf. Beatus 8.8.2, quoting Matt. 24:21.

825 Primasius 16.227-231; the contest of Aaron (not Moses) and the Egyptian magicians is recounted in Exod. 7.

defection, and the false brethren by evil example.[826] This was represented above by the three evil horses, the red one, the black one, and the pale one.[827]

AND THE CITIES OF THE NATIONS FELL; …
That is, all the strength and confidence of the nations.[828] For the merriment of the wicked is great ruin, and the joy of the sinner, perdition.

AND GREAT BABYLON CAME TO GOD'S REMEMBRANCE, TO GIVE HER THE CUP OF THE WINE OF THE INDIGNATION OF HIS WRATH.
Babylon falls, or drinks the wrath of God, when it receives power against Jerusalem, particularly *at the end of time*. *For this reason, [the Scripture] said that she had fallen in the earthquake which she had made for the Church.*[829] If you would refer this to the day of judgement, the wicked man who now *says in his heart: God has forgotten*[830] shall then come to God's remembrance. ***/463/***

[16:20] **AND EVERY ISLAND FLED AWAY; AND THE MOUNTAINS WERE NOT FOUND.**
The Church, which *because of the eminence of its steadfastness* [*stabilitatis*] is compared with islands and mountains,[831] prudently hides from the waves [*fluctibus*] of her persecutors.[832]

[16:21] **AND GREAT HAIL, [AS HEAVY] AS A TALENT, CAME**

826 Cf. Primasius 16.226-231. This identification of the three parts of the 'godless city' as (a) gentiles (i.e. pagans) and Jews, (b) heretics, and (c) false brethren marks an important departure from Tyconius 5.46, which divides the city, which represents all humanity, into (a) pagans, (b) the 'abomination of desolation' and (c) the Church. Caesarius 253.23-26 divides the city into (a) gentiles, (b) heretics and false Catholics and (c) the true Church. For Beatus 8.8.4, the three parts are (a) gentiles (b) the Abomination of Desolation, and (c) the Church. Bede's tendency to draw a hard boundary between the two cities, rather than emphasize the *corpus permixtum*, is well illustrated here, particularly as the adjective 'godless' (*impia*) is his own addition: the sources (including Primasius) simply repeat the adjective 'great' found in the text of Revelation.

827 Rev. 6:4-8.

828 Primasius 16.240.

829 Tyconius 5.47 (202): cf. Beatus 8.8.10; Caesarius 254.8-9; Primasius 16.253-254.

830 Ps. 9b(10):11.

831 Primasius 16.245-246.

832 Throughout his life, Bede would return to this contrast between stability on the one hand, and 'waves' on the other: e.g. in the closing words of *DTR*, 'And so our little book concerning the fleeting and wave-tossed [*fluctiuagus*] course of time comes to a fitting end in eternal stability and stable eternity' (trans. Wallis, p. 249).

DOWN FROM HEAVEN ON MEN; …
The hail of God's wrath is compared to a talent, being at once heavy *in weight*, and *by a just sentence*, *inflicted on each according to the diversity of his sins*.[833] *And all the plagues of Egypt symbolized spiritual plagues*.[834]

AND MEN BLASPHEMED GOD BECAUSE OF THE PLAGUE OF HAIL [because it was exceedingly great.]
Because *some* sins are the cause of sin, *others* a punishment for sin, and *others are both*. As Isaiah says: *Behold, you are angry, and we have sinned. In this case, to blaspheme God is to acknowledge sin and the punishment of sin*.[835]

XXX

[17:1] **[And one of the seven angels who had the seven vials came and spoke with me, saying:] COME, AND I WILL SHOW YOU THE CONDEMNATION OF THE GREAT HARLOT WHO SITS UPON MANY WATERS;**
The multitude of the lost, which, *having abandoned the Creator, lies down to debauch itself with demons*,[836] is depicted as seated on the waters, that is, in the discord of the peoples.[837] On the other hand, *the multitude of the believers had but one heart, and one soul*.[838] The Apostle has *espoused* them *to one husband*, to *present* them *as a chaste virgin to Christ*.[839] ***/465/***

[17:2] **WITH WHOM THE KINGS OF THE EARTH HAVE COMMITTED FORNICATION; AND THEY WHO INHABIT THE EARTH HAVE BEEN MADE DRUNK WITH THE WINE OF HER PROSTITUTION.**
The whole takes precedence over the parts. For *the kings* and *they who inhabit the earth* are those who, *in their pride, seek worldly things*.[840] They are debauched by the enticement of the world, and the lust for vice, and they are made drunk by the madness of their mind.

833 Primasius 16.261-262, based loosely on Tyconius 5.48 (203); cf. more distant parallels in Caesarius 254.11, Beatus 8.8.13.
834 Tyconius 5.48 (203): cf. Beatus 8.8.16; Caesarius 254.12.
835 Primasius 16.264-269, quoting Isa. 64:5.
836 Primasius 17.7, 11-12.
837 The basic idea comes from Tyconius 6.1 (203): cf. Primasius 17.14; Beatus 9.1.4.
838 Acts 4:32.
839 2 Cor. 11:2.
840 Primasius 17.15.

[17:3] **AND HE TOOK ME AWAY IN THE SPIRIT TO THE DESERT …**
The desert stands for the absence of the Godhead, whose presence is paradise.[841]

AND I SAW A WOMAN SITTING UPON A SCARLET BEAST FULL OF BLASPHEMOUS NAMES …
The devil, *gory in his godlessness*,[842] puffed up with blasphemies, arrogant, *extols* the corruption of the wicked *in the pride of presumption*.[843]

HAVING SEVEN HEADS AND TEN HORNS.
That is, having the kings and kingdoms of this world,[844] whose glory he showed to the Lord on the mountain.[845] For the number seven, and often the number ten (as we said above),[846] indicates universality.

[17:4] **AND THE WOMAN WAS CLOTHED IN PURPLE AND SCARLET, …**
In purple is shown the guise of a feigned rule; in scarlet the bloody robe of impiety.[847]

AND COVERED WITH GOLD AND PRECIOUS STONES AND PEARLS …
That is, with all the allurements of simulated truth. He shows what lies beneath his beauty, saying:[848]

HAVING A GOLDEN CUP IN HER HAND, FULL OF THE ABOMINATIONS [and the filth of her fornication.]
The golden cup full *of filthiness is hypocrisy, because* hypocrites *appear to men as righteous on the outside, but on the inside they are full* ***/467/*** *of every kind* of filth. For the beast lurking beneath the raiment of the whore is like poison in gold.[849]

[17:5] **AND ON HER FOREHEAD WAS WRITTEN A NAME, A**

841 Primasius 17.20-21.
842 Primasius 17.29.
843 Primasius 17.24-25.
844 Tyconius 6.4 (204): cf. Caesarius 256.23-24; Beatus 9.2.5.
845 Matt. 4:8, Luke 4:5.
846 See Bede's exegesis of Rev. 12:3; cf. Primasius 17.47-48.
847 Primasius 17.112-113.
848 Tyconius 6.5-6 (204): cf. Caesarius 256.26-27; Primasius 17.114-117; Beatus 9.2.6-7.
849 Tyconius 6.6 (204): cf. Caesarius 256.29-30; Primasius 17.118-120; Beatus 9.2.7.

MYSTERY: BABYLON THE GREAT, MOTHER OF FORNICATIONS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.
On her very face, this corruption shows herself to be the nurturer of vices; but because only a prudent reasoning mind can discern this, especially when she is so gorgeously dressed, her name is shown to be a *mystery*.

[17:6] **AND I SAW THE WOMAN DRUNK WITH THE BLOOD OF THE SAINTS, AND WITH THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS OF JESUS ….**
The hostile body is one, within and without; although it appears in separate places, nonetheless it works together *in unity of spirit. Thus the descendants of the wicked are accused of having stoned Zechariah, although they themselves did not do it*.[850]

XXXI

[And when I saw her, I marvelled with great wonderment.] [17:7] AND THE ANGEL SAID TO ME, and so forth, up to **[i.e. omitting Why do you marvel? I will tell you the mystery of the woman and of the beast which carries her, which has seven heads and ten horns.] [17:8] THE BEAST THAT YOU SAW WAS, AND IS NOT, AND SHALL RISE OUT OF THE BOTTOMLESS PIT AND GO TO DESTRUCTION; [and the inhabitants on the earth (whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) shall marvel to see the beast that was, and is not.]**
That is, the devil once ruled the world. When the Lord was crucified, he was cast out. But at the end of the age, released from the pen of his prison, he will perish forever *by the spirit of the mouth* of the Lord.[851] Tyconius interprets the beast ***/469/*** as the whole body of the Devil, *which will be filled up in the course of time by generations past and to come*[852] – notably because he shows the woman sitting on the beast, whom he had promised to show *sitting upon many waters*,[853] that is, upon the people.

850 Tyconius 6.7 (204-205). The final sentence refers to Matt. 23:35 and Luke 11:51. Cf. Caesarius 257.5, 7-8, 11-12; Beatus 9.2.10-11, 13.

851 2 Thess. 2:8.

852 Primasius 17.131-136, based on Tyconius 6.8 (205); cf. Caesarius 257.15-19, 258.11-14; Beatus 9.2.21. Bede's wording follows Primasius's, but Primasius does not identify the source as Tyconius, which indicates that Bede independently identified Tyconius as the ultimate source. This is an illustration of Tyconius's Rule 7 (see introduction, pp. 71–72).

853 Rev. 17:1, cf. 17:15.

[17:9] **[And here is the understanding that has wisdom:] THE SEVEN HEADS ARE SEVEN MOUNTAINS ON WHICH THE WOMAN SITS; AND THEY ARE SEVEN KINGS.**
The heads of the beast, [the Scripture] says, are the kings of the world, who are compared to lofty mountains because of the swelling of their pride. Wanton impiety reposes upon them, so that they can both *crush with force and beguile with fraud*.[854]

[17:10] **FIVE ARE FALLEN, ONE IS, AND THE OTHER HAS NOT YET COME; …**
Since he has already described in the number seven the plenitude of worldly empire, whose final part – [the reign] of Antichrist – has not yet come, [Scripture] witnesses that five kings have gone before, the sixth is present, and the seventh is to come.[855]

AND WHEN HE HAS COME, HE MUST REMAIN A SHORT TIME.
Because the Lord sees that we are both proud and weak, those singularly evil days which he brought to pass, he says, will be mercifully shortened. To be sure, this is so that he can both terrify pride by the harshness of the time, and comfort weakness by its brevity.[856]

[17:11] **AND THE BEAST WHICH WAS AND IS NOT, HE IS THE EIGHTH, AND ALSO IS OF THE SEVEN; AND HE GOES TO DESTRUCTION.**
Antichrist, who is to rule at the end of the age, because of the unity of this body of the wicked whose head he is, belongs to the number of the kingdoms of the world. But because of his exceptional power of evil, he has his own place in the sequence.[857] ***/471/***

854 Primasius 17.168-169.

855 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XXXI (see Appendix). Bede's exegesis of this passage finds no parallel in his sources. He links the number seven to 'the plenitude of worldly empire' (*plenitudinem mundani …imperii*), which detaches it from any reference to actual historical or political entities.

856 Gregory, *Mor.* 32.23 (1647.45-48), referring to Matt. 24:22.

857 Antichrist is both the seventh in the sequence of kings (see previous verse) and also the eighth, which Bede interprets to mean that Antichrist is both contained within the historical totality of worldly rulers (since he is the mystical head of the body of the wicked), and a distinct individual, with his own place in the sequence. This double identity of Antichrist as both allegory and prophecy is a constant feature of the Antichrist legend and Antichrist theology.

[17:12] **AND THE TEN HORNS THAT YOU SAW ARE TEN KINGS WHO HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED A KINGDOM, …**

The kingdoms of the world have not yet demonstrated their full power to persecute the Church. *Although they now have dominion over most people, nevertheless the power of their insane arrogance will be all the more acute when they will have also deceived many by signs*.[858] Some interpret the ten kings as coming in the future, when the final persecution draws near, to divide the world among themselves, according to the prophecy of Daniel, who said of the fourth beast,[859] *It had ten horns, and, behold, another little horn sprung out of the midst of them: and three of the first horns were plucked up at its presence*.[860] [They say that] Antichrist, born in Babylon, will conquer the kings of Egypt, Africa and Ethiopia, and when he has killed them, seven other kings will bow their neck to the victor.[861] Others say that Antichrist is in the eleventh position to symbolize his prevarication. For they designate eleven as a transgression of the perfection of ten.[862]

BUT WHO WILL RECEIVE POWER AS KINGS FOR ONE HOUR AFTER THE BEAST.

He said '*as [if they were] kings*',[863] because those *who set themselves up against the reign of Christ*, *reign as in a dream*.[864]

[17:13] **THESE HAVE ONE DESIGN; AND THEY SHALL HAND OVER THEIR STRENGTH AND POWER TO THE BEAST.**

That is, *by common consent* they fight with *all the force of their will* for the Devil,[865] for this is what it is to receive a kingdom after the beast, by

858 Primasius 17.206-209.

859 Cf. Primasius 17.35-37.

860 Dan. 7:7-8.

861 Antichrist's birth in Babylon, defeat of the king of Egypt and dominion over Africa and Ethiopia: Jerome, *In Dan.* 2.7.7-8 (844.592-600); 4.11.25-26 (918.99-104) and 27-28a (919.117-118); 4.11.40-41 (929.347-352). See also above, n. 73 (re Bede's commentary on 2:10). This feature of Antichrist's 'biography' was widely known: for example, Lactantius, in *Divine Institutes* 7, claims that these ten tyrants would take power after the fall of Rome: Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', pp. 232–233.

862 Cf. Isidore, *Liber numerorum* 12.61 (PL 83, 191); Augustine, *DCD* 15.20 (485.122-125); *Sermo* 51.34 (PL 38.353); *De consensu evangelistarum* 2.13 (94.14-15); *Quaestiones de Exodo* 108, ed. J. Fraipont, CCSL 33 (1958) 122.1821-1822. However, neither Isidore nor Augustine specifically relates the number 11 to Antichrist.

863 *Tanquam reges*, which denotes simulation; cf. Caesarius's version of the text (258.24), which reads *quasi reges*.

864 Tyconius 6.14 (207): cf. Beatus 9.2.83; Caesarius 258.24-26.

865 A fusion of Primasius 17.211-213 and Tyconius 6.15 (208); cf. Beatus 9.2.86-87.

imitating the Devil in opposition to Christ.

[17:14] **THEY WILL FIGHT AGAINST THE LAMB. AND THE LAMB WILL CONQUER THEM, [because he is Lord of lords, and King of kings;]**
Lest ***/473/*** human weakness should fear the ferocity of the old enemy, [Scripture] shows how the seven-headed beast, armed with the horns of a secular kingdom, is defeated by the triumphant Christ. *Showing that [the Lamb] triumphs in his followers, he adds*:

AND THEY THAT ARE WITH HIM ARE CALLED, AND CHOSEN, AND FAITHFUL.
Rightly does he emphasize 'chosen', for 'many are called, but few are chosen'.[866]

[17:15] **And he said to me: The waters which you saw, where the harlot sits, are peoples and nations and tongues.]** [17:16] **AND THE TEN HORNS WHICH YOU SAW [on the beast], THESE WILL HATE THE HARLOT …**
The glory of the world, which now they grasp with wanton love, they shall then begin to detest with a terrible hatred, when they see themselves condemned in the end by the victorious Lamb. It can be understood another way: *that among the proud there are always contentions*, or, that everyone *that loves iniquity hates his own soul*.[867]

AND THEY WILL MAKE HER DESOLATE AND NAKED …
For these men, through the wrath of God, make the world into a desert when they abandon themselves to it and use it unrighteously.[868]

AND WILL EAT HER FLESH AND BURN HER WITH FIRE.
They shall *burn* her, stripped of her accustomed luxuries, *in the fire of hell*.[869]

[17:17] **FOR GOD HAS PUT IT INTO THEIR HEARTS TO DO WHAT PLEASES HIM, …**
[John] says that God, *a just judge and strong*,[870] and one to whom *justice is always pleasing*, permits such things to be carried out by the wicked as

866 Tyconius 6.16 (208), quoting Matt. 20:16: cf. Primasius 17.216-219; Caesarius 259.8-9; Beatus 9.3.2-3.

867 Prov. 13:10 and Ps. 10:6 (11:5), quoted by Primasius 17.227-230, following Tyconius 6.17 (208); cf. Caesarius 259.13-17 and Beatus 9.3.4 who quote Ps. 10:6 only.

868 Tyconius 6.20 (208); cf. Caesarius 259.18-20.

869 Tyconius 6.19 (208): cf. Beatus 9.3.6.

870 Ps. 7:12.

punishment for their earlier sins;[871] for their sake he could rightly bring the whole world to an end, as happened in the case of Sodom and the Flood, as the Gospel attests.[872]

THAT THEY GIVE THEIR KINGDOM TO THE BEAST, UNTIL THE WORDS OF GOD BE FULFILLED. ***/475/***
That is, that they should obey *the Devil, until the Scriptures are fulfilled in which God said the earth would be laid waste by a fourth kingdom, as we read in Daniel*: *The fourth [beast] shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be greater than all the kingdoms and shall devour the whole earth, overturn it and break it in pieces*.[873]

[17:18] **AND THE WOMAN WHICH YOU SAW IS THAT GREAT CITY WHICH HAS ROYAL AUTHORITY OVER THE KINGS OF THE EARTH.**
Thus later, when bidden to look upon the bride of the Lamb, [John] saw the holy city *coming down out of heaven.*[874] When he describes it, he says: *and the kings of the earth shall bring their glory and honour into it*.[875] *For there are two cities in the world, one taking its origin from the abyss, the other from heaven*.[876] Hence that same wickedness which he had described in the form of the harlot who was stripped and burnt, he now compares to the ruins of a deserted city.[877]

XXXII

[18:1] **AND AFTER THESE THINGS, I SAW ANOTHER ANGEL COMING DOWN FROM HEAVEN, HAVING GREAT POWER; AND THE EARTH WAS LIT UP WITH HIS GLORY.**
This angel, powerful and lighting up the whole earth, can be understood as both the incarnate Lord himself,[878] and the teachers of the Church. These

871 Primasius 17.242-244.

872 Matt. 10:15, 24:38-39; Luke 17:26-30.

873 Tyconius 6.20 (208-209): cf. Beatus 9.3.8-9, and more briefly Caesarius 259.25-27. The embedded quotation is from Dan. 7:23.

874 Rev. 21:9-10

875 Rev. 21:24.

876 Tyconius 6.21 (209). Neither Primasius nor Caesarius refers to the 'two cities' concept in this context. Beatus 9.3.10-12 situates the origins of the two cities in God and the Devil, not heaven and hell.

877 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XXXII (see Appendix).

878 Gryson claims that the identification of the angel as the incarnate Lord is from Tyconius,

men, imbued with heavenly light, proclaim the fall of the world, saying *The kingdom of heaven is at hand*.[879]

[18:2] **[And he cried out with a loud voice, saying:] BABYLON THE GREAT IS FALLEN, IS FALLEN; AND IS BECOME THE DWELLING PLACE OF DEMONS AND THE LAIR OF EVERY UNCLEAN SPIRIT, [and the lair of every unclean and hateful bird;** [18.3] **For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, …]** [Scripture] says: Do not be afraid, O Jerusalem, of the power of the earthly city, which spiritually falls through the very thing by which it oppressed you, ***/477/*** in the vexation caused by its depraved citizens. Isaiah also describes Babylon as inhabited by unclean monsters.[880] *This is nothing other than the city of the Devil* which *receives every unclean spirit,* and *in which abides every impurity in the world*.[881]

AND THE MERCHANTS OF THE EARTH HAVE BECOME RICH WITH THE POWER OF HER DELIGHTS.
They are said to be *rich in sins* who *in a doleful commerce trade their own souls for temporal gain*.[882] For *abundance of luxury makes them poor rather than rich*.[883]

[18:4] **[And I heard another voice from heaven, saying:] GO OUT FROM HER, MY PEOPLE; LEST YOU BE PARTAKERS OF HER SINS, [and lest you receive her plagues.** [18:5] **For her sins have reached to heaven; and the Lord has remembered her iniquities.]**
As Isaiah says: *Go out of the midst of her. Touch no unclean thing. Be clean, you that carry the vessels of the Lord*.[884] Having pronounced the ruin of Babylon, he introduces a departure [*discessionem*] which is [itself] the ruin of Babylon. For after Lot has departed from Sodom, it will be utterly destroyed.[885]

---

citing a parallel in Beatus 10.1.2. However, this is not incorporated into his edition of Tyconius.

879 Matt. 3:2, 4:17, 10:7; cf. Mark 1:15.

880 Isa. 13:21-23.

881 Tyconius 6.22 (209): cf. Caesarius 260.6-8; Beatus 10.1.4.

882 Primasius 18.49-50 and Tyconius 6.24 (209); cf. Caesarius 260.26; Beatus 10.1.5.

883 Tyconius 6.24 (209): cf. Caesarius 260.26-27; Beatus 10.1.5.

884 Isa. 52:11; quoted by Tyconius 6.25 (210): cf. Caesarius 261.5-7; Beatus 10.1.7; Primasius (18.60) quotes only part of this verse, but does not say that it is from Isaiah.

885 Cf. Tyconius, *Lib. reg.* 7 (84.31-85.4), referring to Gen. 19:15-28.

[18:6] **RENDER TO HER AS SHE HERSELF RENDERED TO YOU; …**
For plagues visible and invisible go forth from the Church into the world.[886]

AND DOUBLE FOR DOUBLE, ACCORDING TO HER DEEDS. [In the cup in which she mixed, mix double for her. [18:7] **Give to her torment and sorrow in proportion as she has glorified herself, and lived in delights; …]**
So that she who *enjoyed temporal delights may agonize in eternal torments*.[887]

BECAUSE SHE SAYS IN HER HEART: I SIT A QUEEN AND AM NO WIDOW; AND SORROW I SHALL NOT SEE. [18:8] **SO SHALL HER PLAGUES COME IN A SINGLE DAY, [death and mourning and famine; and she shall be burned with fire: for God who is mighty shall judge her.]**
Because she delighted with present luxuries, she would not take heed of future vengeance, and so she will in a *brief space of time be punished* by misfortune both *carnal* and *spiritual*.[888] On the other hand, the citizens of the heavenly homeland, who *hold up* ***/479/*** *Jerusalem* as *the beginning of their joy*, do not wish to *sing the song of the Lord in a strange land*,[889] that is, to receive in the present the joy which belongs to a future age.

[18:9] **AND THE KINGS OF THE EARTH WHO COMMITTED FORNICATION [and lived with her in delights,] WILL WEEP AND BEWAIL THEMSELVES OVER HER, …**
The mourning of the kings and merchants and sailors of Babylon can be understood in two ways. It could either [mean] that on the day of judgement, when all the glory of the world has perished, only penance for their past life will remain to those wicked men who say: *What has pride profited us? Or what advantage has the boasting of riches brought us? All those things are passed away like a shadow*.[890] Or [it could mean] that in the present, when abundance of things comes to an end and the downfall of the various nations draws nigh, the *opportunity* for those carnal *delights which crowd in to satisfy the desires of the depraved* will be taken away.[891]

886 Tyconius 6.26 (210): cf. Caesarius 262.5-6 and Beatus 10.1.19.
887 Primasius 18.74-75.
888 Tyconius 6.27 (210): cf. Caesarius 262.11-12; Beatus 10.1.20.
889 Ps. 136(137):6, 4.
890 Wisd. of Sol. 5:8-9.
891 Primasius 18.110-112.

WHEN THEY SEE THE SMOKE OF HER BURNING.
That is, the sign *of ruin*, since *smoke precedes fire*. *For what is the disorientation and dismay of the world but the smoke of hell, which is close at hand*?[892]

[18:10] **STANDING FAR OFF FOR FEAR OF HER TORMENTS, …**
Standing afar off not in body, but in mind, when each fears for himself what he sees others suffering through calumnies and through power.[893]

SAYING: ALAS! ALAS! THAT GREAT CITY, BABYLON, THAT MIGHTY CITY; FOR IN A SINGLE HOUR YOUR JUDGEMENT IS COME.
The Spirit pronounces the name of the city, and they bemoan that the world has received its punishment in such a short time, and that every enterprise has ceased, and has been cast down.[894] ***/481/***

[18:11] **AND THE MERCHANTS OF THE EARTH WILL WEEP AND MOURN OVER HER; FOR NO ONE WILL BUY THEIR MERCHANDISE ANY MORE;** and so forth. **[**[18.12] **Merchandise of gold and silver, precious stones, and pearls, and fine linen and purple, and silk and scarlet, and all citron wood, and all vessels of ivory, and all vessels of precious stone and brass and iron and marble;** [18.13] **And cinnamon, and spices, and ointment, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men.** [18.14] **And the fruits of the desire of your soul are gone from you; and all fat and goodly things are lost to you; and they shall never be found again.]**
They mourn the loss of all the *pomp* of the world, and of those things which are either sweet to the bodily senses, or designed for external purposes. The various kinds of metals refer to sight, the perfumes to *smell*, *unguents to touch*, wine, wheat and oil to *taste*. When he refers to beasts and slaves, it should be understood that the other things which aid human nature will perish.[895] *This happens in two ways*, as I *said*: either *these things perish with the dying world*,[896] or the wretches who survive those who have left the joys

892 Tyconius 6.29 (211): cf. Beatus 10.1.22; and, more freely, Primasius 18. 115-117.
893 Tyconius 6.30 (211): cf. Caesarius 262.28-263.2; Beatus 10.1.23; more loosely in Primasius 18.114-115.
894 Tyconius 6.31 (211): cf. Caesarius 263.3-5; Beatus 10.1.24.
895 'They mourn …perish': cf. Primasius 18.109, 125-132.
896 Tyconius 6.32 (211): cf. Beatus 10.1.26.

of the world through death mourn as if over the ruins of their city. *These are said to watch from afar, for fear of a similar punishment*.[897]

[18:15] **[The merchants of these things,] WHO WERE MADE RICH, WILL STAND FAR OFF FROM HER, [for fear of her torments, weeping and mourning,** [18.16] **And saying: Alas! alas! that great city, …]**
Whenever the Spirit mentions those made rich by [Babylon], *he signifies the wealth* of transgressions.[898] Later, when the voice is that of the unrighteous, saying: *Alas! alas! that great city, in which all were made rich who had ships at sea*,[899] material abundance is to be understood. For they imagine they are made rich by the shrewdness of their own devising.

WHICH WAS CLOTHED WITH FINE LINEN AND PURPLE AND SCARLET [and was covered with gold and precious stones and pearls. [18:17] **For in a single hour, such great riches are laid waste.]**
Is the city clothed *with linen and purple, and not men? Therefore it is they who lament their lot when they are spoiled of the abovementioned things*.[900]
/483/

AND EVERY SHIPMASTER [and all that sail into the lake] AND MARINERS, [and those who work in the sea] STOOD FAR OFF, [18:18] [**And cried out,] SEEING THE PLACE OF HER BURNING …**
Could all who sail upon *the sea be present to see the burning of the city? Rather, he says that all the husbandmen and artisans of the world fear for themselves, seeing the ruin of their hope*.[901]

SAYING: WHAT CITY IS LIKE THIS GREAT CITY?
That is, it is not possible for the world to be restored to its original condition.[902]

[18:19] **AND THEY THREW DUST ON THEIR HEADS …**
That is, reproaching the faces of their princes. They were seduced by them, and they perished.[903] Or else: accusing the madness of their heart (which is the principal part of a man) with a repentance which comes too late.

897 Primasius 18.112-115.
898 Caesarius 263.8-9.
899 Rev. 18:19.
900 Tyconius 6.34 (212): cf. Caesarius 263.10-12; Beatus 10.1.30.
901 Tyconius 6.35 (212): cf. Caesarius 263.14-17; Beatus 10.1.32.
902 Tyconius 6.36 (212): cf. Beatus 10.1.33.
903 Primasius 18.142-143. Gryson's apparatus claims that this interpretation is based on Tyconius, as the idea is picked up in Beatus 10.1.34; however, it is not reflected in his critical edition of Tyconius.

[and cried, weeping and mourning, saying: Alas! alas! that great city, where all who had ships at sea were made rich because of her money;] FOR IN A SINGLE HOUR SHE IS MADE DESOLATE.
Notice that each and every one of these mourners bewails not only the loss of riches, but also the swift and unexpected ruin of the deceitful world.[904]

[18:20] **REJOICE OVER HER, HEAVEN, AND YOU SAINTS AND APOSTLES AND PROPHETS; …**
Just as our Lord in the Gospel added in his prophecy of the ruin of the world: *But, when you see these things come to pass, look up and lift up your heads*,[905] that is, let your hearts rejoice.

FOR GOD HAS JUDGED YOUR JUDGEMENT ON HER.
This is, that judgement which the souls of the saints asked for with a mighty cry: *How long, O Lord, Holy and True, will you not judge and avenge our blood*.[906] ***/485/***

XXXIII

[18:21] **AND A MIGHTY ANGEL TOOK UP A STONE LIKE A GREAT MILLSTONE AND THREW IT INTO THE SEA, SAYING: WITH SUCH VIOLENCE AS THIS WILL BABYLON BE THROWN DOWN …**
Or as the other version says: *Thus with violence shall Babylon be cast out*,[907] **THAT GREAT CITY [and shall be found no more].** Because of *the weight of sinners* and their error, *the city of this world* is compared to a restless [*instabili*] millstone.[908] For *the wicked walk about in a circle*.[909]

904 *repentinam improuisamque deflere ruinam saeculi fallentis.* A similar phrase is used by Bede in relation to Noah's Flood, which he explicitly compares to the abrupt and unexpected advent of the Last Judgement: *per inundationem diluuii repentinam improuisa nouissimi examinis hora designatur* ('the unexpected hour of the Last Judgement is signified by the sudden inundation of the flood'): Bede, *In Gen.* 2 (102.1062-1063), trans. Kendall, p. 172; *In Cant. Cant.* 4 (324.333-334).

905 Luke 21:28.

906 Rev. 6:10.

907 Tyconius's text *Sic impetu deicietur Babylon …* (6.38, p. 212) is the 'other version': cf. Caesarius (266.5), Beatus pr. 5.83. See Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 181, and Sparks, p. 577.

908 Cf. Primasius 18.186-187.

909 Ps. 11:9 (12:8), quoted by Caesarius 266.5-8 (reference not included in Gryson's apparatus).

For this reason it is drowned in the waves of retribution, for its citizens submerged Jerusalem with waves of infidelity when, seated by *the rivers of Babylon*, they lamented their absence from the heavenly *Sion*.[910] For the Lord says that those who cause others to fall will suffer like punishment.[911] To be sure, the Church is also likened to a stone, but one which is stable and firm, and which defies the onslaught of storms.[912] The millstone can also be understood as the grinding [*contritio*] of punishments. For as St Ignatius is reported to have said when he was about to be martyred: *I am God's wheat, to be ground by the teeth of beasts, that I may be made pure bread*.[913]

[18:22] **AND THE SOUND OF HARPERS AND MUSICIANS, AND OF THOSE THAT PLAY THE PIPE AND THE TRUMPET WILL BE HEARD IN HER NO MORE; …**

From amongst the five senses [mentioned above in 18:11], he had exempted sound. Now he says that it will be removed from the world along with the others. It is as if he were to say: What is fair to the sight, harmonious to hearing, smooth to the touch, sweet to smell and delectable to taste, shall pass away from this world.[914]

AND NO CRAFTSMAN OF ANY CRAFT WHATSOEVER WILL BE FOUND IN YOU ANY MORE */487/;* and the rest **[and the sound of the mill shall be heard in you no more;** [18:23] **And the light of the lamp will shine in you no more; and the voice of the bridegroom and the bride shall be heard in you no more …]**

All these things, he says, which pertain to the ease or *enjoyment* of human life are taken from the wicked.[915] *And he adds why, saying*:

FOR YOUR MERCHANTS WERE THE GREAT MEN OF THE EARTH; …

For *you received good things in your lifetime*.[916]

910 Ps. 136(137):1.

911 Matt. 18:6, quoted in this context by Primasius 18.174-175.

912 Matt. 7:24-25. On the juxtaposition of 'stability' and 'waves', see above, n. 834.

913 Eusebius/Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.36.12 (279), quoting from Ignatius, *Ad Romanos* 4.1 (130.5-6); Bonner, *Saint Bede*, p. 10, n.70. The same quotation is found in Jerome, *De uiris illustribus* 16.9 (108).

914 Primasius 18.190-194; cf. the exegesis of v. 14 above.

915 Based on Tyconius 6.38 (213): cf. Caesarius 266.11-12; Beatus 10.2.2.

916 Tyconius 6.39 (213), quoting Luke 16:25: cf. Caesarius 266.12-13; Beatus 10.2.2-3; Primasius 18.201-202. Primasius is not included in Gryson's apparatus, but does appear in the apparatus of his edition of Tyconius.

[for the nations have all been deceived by your sorceries.][18:24] **AND IN HER WAS SLAIN[917] THE BLOOD OF PROPHETS AND OF SAINTS, AND OF ALL THAT WERE SLAIN UPON THE EARTH.**
Did not the same city kill the apostles, which also killed the prophets and all the saints? But this is the city which Cain founded with his brother's blood and called by the name of his son Enoch, that is, [by the name] of all his posterity. For seven generations of Cain are recorded.[918] *Into the fabric of this city is poured 'all the just blood that has been shed upon the earth, from the blood of Abel, the just, even unto the blood of Zacharias', that is [the blood] of the people and of the priest*.[919]

[19:1] **AND AFTER THESE THINGS, I HEARD AS IT WERE THE LOUD VOICE OF GREAT TRUMPETS[920] IN HEAVEN, SAYING: ALLELUIA. SALVATION AND GLORY AND POWER TO OUR GOD.**
Now *the Church* says these things in a partial way; but then, *when the separation [discessio] shall have been carried out*, and when she shall have been openly vindicated, she will do so perfectly.[921]

[19:2] **[For true and just are his judgements, who has judged the great harlot,] WHO CORRUPTED THE EARTH WITH HER PROSTITUTION, AND HAS REVENGED THE BLOOD OF HIS SERVANTS AT HER HANDS.**
He notes two deeds of the harlot: her corruption with those who are evil and her persecution of those who are good. ***/489/*** In my view, these two encompass all the transgressions of the wicked.

[19:3] **AND AGAIN THEY SAID: ALLELUIA …**
The Church praises the Lord with unfailing love for his judgements. For *Alleluia* means 'Praise the Lord'.[922] Indeed, the Psalms whose opening

917 The Vulgate reads *inventus* ('found'), but Bede reads *interfectus* ('slain'): cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 184.

918 Cf. Gen. 4:18-22.

919 Tyconius 6.39 (213): cf. Caesarius 266.16-19, 21-23; Beatus 10.2.4, 7-8; and (more distantly) Primasius 19.6-12, including the quotation from Matt. 23:35 in the final sentence. On Cain's foundation of the first city, see Gen. 4:17. Cf. Augustine, *DCD* 15.1, 5, 8, 20; Tyconius, *Lib. reg.* 4 (42.5-9).

920 The received text of the Vulgate reads *turbarum* ('multitudes') rather than *tubarum* ('trumpets'), as do some manuscripts of Bede's commentary. Gryson's lemma chooses *tubarum* as this is the reading conveyed by the most authoritative codices, those in his families δ and α.

921 Tyconius 6.40 (214): cf. Caesarius 268.19-20; Beatus 10.3.2.

922 Primasius 19.13-14.

words are *Praise the Lord* begin with *Alleluia* in Hebrew.[923]

AND HER SMOKE ASCENDS FOR EVER AND EVER.
He said *ascends*, not *will ascend*. For *Babylon* always falls into perdition, and even now *is burning in part, even as Jerusalem passes over into paradise, as the Lord showed in [the parable of] the rich man and the poor man*.[924]

[19:4] **AND THE FOUR AND TWENTY ELDERS AND THE FOUR LIVING CREATURES FELL DOWN AND WORSHIPPED GOD [who sits upon the throne …]**
The Church worships the Lord not only with her lips, but with the sweetness of supreme devotion.

SAYING: AMEN. ALLELUIA.
Though these words can be translated (as I said, they refer to faith or truth or the praise of the Lord), nonetheless the authority of the primordial language is retained out of reverence for its holiness. For the Church continues to sing *Alleluia* on Sundays, and during the entire period of fifty days [following Easter] because of the hope of the resurrection, which is to be in the praise of the Lord.[925]

[19:5] **AND A VOICE CAME FROM THE THRONE, SAYING: GIVE PRAISE TO OUR GOD, ALL YOU HIS SERVANTS; AND YOU WHO FEAR HIM, SMALL AND GREAT.**
When he orders that this be done, and records that it was done, [the Spirit] indicates *that the praise of his chosen* servants *has won approval*.[926] He says *little and **/491/** great*, for poverty of natural ability does not disadvantage the person whose heart and tongue are full of the praise of God.

[19:6] **AND I HEARD AS IT WERE THE VOICE OF GREAT TRUMPETS,[927] AND AS THE SOUND OF MANY WATERS, AND AS**

923 Cf. Jerome, *In Psalmos homeliae* 56, ed. G. Morin, CCSL 78 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 329.5-7.

924 Tyconius 6.41 (214): cf. Caesarius 268.28-32; more distantly Primasius 19.18-20. However, the allusion to the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16.19-31) is only in Primasius.

925 The substance of this passage comes from Isidore, *De officiis* 1.13.1-2, ed. Christopher Lawson, CCSL 113 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 15.10-13, cf. *Etym.* 6.19.20. The interpretation of 'amen' echoes Primasius 19.22, where the word is translated 'true, faithfully'. However the reference to the fifty days following Easter is Bede's, and reflects his interest in Easter as a symbol of eternity (cf. *DTR* 64, 71).

926 Primasius 19.24-26.

927 See n. 920 above.

THE SOUND OF GREAT THUNDERS, SAYING: ALLELUIA: FOR THE LORD OUR GOD, THE ALMIGHTY, HAS REIGNED.
The great voice of the singers is the great devotion of the heart which rejoices in the manifold repetition of praise, both for the downfall of the wicked, and for the eternal glory of the Lord and of those who belong to him.[928]

[19:7] **[Let us be glad and rejoice] AND GIVE HIM GLORY; FOR THE MARRIAGE OF THE LAMB IS COME, …**
The wedding of the Lamb is when the Church shall be united with her Lord in the nuptial chamber of the heavenly kingdom.

AND HIS WIFE HAS MADE HERSELF READY.
By consistently *attending to the works of righteousness* she has shown herself worthy of the *spiritual* banquet and the everlasting kingdom.[929] This can be understood in the light of the parable in the Gospel which tells of the virgins who rose up to trim their lamps when the bridegroom approached[930] – that is, to reckon up their good deeds, by which they hope to attain eternal happiness.

[19:8] **AND IT WAS GRANTED TO HER THAT SHE SHOULD CLOTHE HERSELF WITH FINE LINEN, GLITTERING AND WHITE: [for the fine linen is the righteous deeds of the saints.]**
It is granted to her to be clothed in her own deeds.[931] On the other hand, the wicked, who according to Isaiah *have woven the webs of spiders*, will not be *covered by their works. For their works are unprofitable works.*[932]

[19:9] **AND HE SAID TO ME, WRITE: BLESSED ARE THEY WHO ARE CALLED TO THE MARRIAGE SUPPER OF THE LAMB …**
He says that they are summoned not to a noon-tide meal [*prandium*] *but to supper* [*cenam*], ***/493/*** *because a supper is indeed a banquet at the end of the day. Therefore those who arrive at the refreshment of heavenly contemplation when the time of this present life is done are straightaway called to the supper of the Lamb*.[933]

928 See exegesis of Rev. 7:10 and 14:2 above.
929 Primasius 19.51-53.
930 Matt. 25:6-7.
931 Caesarius 269.6.
932 Isa. 59:5-6.
933 Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 24.6 (202.152-155). On Bede's sensitivity to the distinction between *prandium* and *coena*, see Alban Gautier, 'La table de Bède', *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité*, p. 211.

[And he said to me:] THESE WORDS OF GOD ARE TRUE.
That is, what he has proclaimed will be in the future, will surely come to pass.

[19:10] **[And I fell at his feet, to worship him. And he said to me:] SEE THAT YOU DO NOT DO IT. I AM A FELLOW-SERVANT OF YOU AND OF YOUR BRETHREN …**
Earlier on he had said: *I am the first and the last*. Thus *he shows that the angel was sent as the symbol of the Lord and the Church. For at the end he also says*: *I, Jesus, have sent my angel, to testify to you these things in the churches*.[934]

WHO HAVE THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS …
After the Lord Jesus lifted up into heaven the human nature which he had taken on, the angel feared to be worshipped by a human being, for he worshipped the God-Man as one higher than himself. We read that this was done by men before the Lord's Incarnation, and in no wise forbidden by angels.[935]

[Worship God.] FOR THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS IS THE SPIRIT OF PROPHECY.
For whatever the spirit of prophecy said, is the testimony of Jesus, to whom the Law and the prophets bear witness.[936] Therefore he says, Do not worship me in place of God, since I myself have come to give testimony of his powers. So much for the ruin of Babylon. From here on, [John] speaks of the coming glory of Jerusalem.[937]

934 Tyconius 6.44 (214-215): cf. Beatus 10.3.10, and more freely Primasius 19.63-70. The two embedded quotations are from Rev. 1:17 and 22:16.

935 For example, Abraham prostrated himself before the three angels at the oak of Mamre (Gen. 19:1) and Gideon offered a sacrifice to the angel of the Lord (Judg. 6:18-23). Bede drew this idea from Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 8.2 (56.51-55, 57-58); it is also alluded to in *Mor.* 27.29 (1352.30-45).

936 Cf. Primasius 19.71-73.

937 Bede seems to suggest here that the sequence of recapitulations from the Incarnation and Passion has come to an end, but see exegesis of 19:13 below. This projection of the Rider into the scenario of the end-times is unusual in the exegetic tradition: see Christe, 'De l'absence ou des lacunes', p. 822.

XXXIV

[19:11] **AND I SAW HEAVEN OPENED; AND, BEHOLD, A WHITE HORSE. AND HE WHO SAT ON IT WAS CALLED FAITHFUL AND TRUE; … */495/***
The Lord who is *the way, and the truth, and the life*,[938] and to whom it is said by the prophet *for you have done wonderful things, your designs of old are faithful. Amen*,[939] takes his seat upon a white – that is, immaculate – body in order to put down the powers of the air.

AND WITH JUSTICE DOES HE JUDGE AND FIGHT.
He judges as *the king of ages*. He fights, because *he contends as he suffers* continually *in his members*.[940]

[19:12] **HIS EYES WERE LIKE A FLAME OF FIRE, …**
Sometimes he calls the *commandments*[941] the eyes of the Lord, and sometimes he calls the Spirit [by this term]. He says: Lord, *your word is a lamp to my feet*,[942] and of the Spirit, *I am come to cast fire upon the earth*.[943]

AND ON HIS HEAD WERE MANY DIADEMS; …
In him in whom 'we shall do mightily', the multitude of the saints is said to have the ornament of a crown.[944]

AND HE HAD A NAME WRITTEN, WHICH NO ONE KNOWS BUT HIMSELF.
'But himself', [the Spirit] says, *because in him is the whole Church*.[945] *For the perfect knowledge of the word of God is manifested in those who deserve to be 'the body of Christ, and its members'*.[946] In the same vein, the Lord said: *No man ascends into heaven, but he that descends from heaven, the Son of Man who is in heaven*.[947]

938 John 14:6.
939 Isa. 25:1.
940 Primasius 19.90-91; 'king of ages' refers to Rev. 15:2.
941 Caesarius 220.8.
942 Ps. 118(119):105.
943 Luke 12:49.
944 Primasius 19.93-95, quoting Ps. 57(58):14.
945 Caesarius 264.13-14.
946 Primasius 19.96-97, quoting 1 Cor. 12:27.
947 John 3:13.

[19:13] **AND HE WAS CLOTHED IN A GARMENT SPRINKLED WITH BLOOD …**

The clothing of Christ should be understood in context. Here it seems to indicate the work of the Passion itself:[948] just as his incorrupt birth is designated by the white horse, so his innocent death[949] is designated by the bloody vesture. ***/497/***

AND HIS NAME WAS CALLED: THE WORD OF GOD.

Because the same one who appeared at the appointed time as a man destined to suffer, *was in the beginning with God*.[950] For he is called *'the Word' because nothing in the substance of his nature is visible or corporeal, or else because through him the Father made all things*.[951] As he said earlier, perfect knowledge of his nature belongs to himself alone, and to the Father. For *the peace of God surpasses all understanding*.[952] That peace by which God himself made peace with himself surpasses every creaturely intelligence, whether of man or angel. *For of his wisdom there is no number*.[953] When it is said *he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal it*,[954] – that is, he knows the Son and the Father – it refers to the creaturely mode [of knowledge].

[19:14] **AND THE ARMIES THAT ARE IN HEAVEN FOLLOWED HIM ON WHITE HORSES, …**

That is, the Church imitated him in white bodies,[955] and rightly takes the designation of an army because of the intensity of the conflict.

CLOTHED IN FINE LINEN, WHITE [and] CLEAN.

He explained above that this is *the justification of the saints*, according to what the Psalm says: *Let your priests be clothed with justice*.[956]

[19:15] **AND FROM HIS MOUTH PROCEEDS A SHARP SWORD,**

948 Cf. Primasius 19.145-146.

949 *mors innoxia*, a phrase repeated with reference to Christ in Bede's *In Lucam* 6 (966-967) and with reference to John the Baptist in Hymn 10.4.1, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 122.3-4, p. 431.

950 John 1:2.

951 Isidore, *Liber differentiarum* 2.7.18, ed. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, CCSL 111A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 16.10-13.

952 Phil. 4:7.

953 Ps. 146:5.

954 Matt. 11:27.

955 Tyconius 7.4 (215): cf. Caesarius 264.17-18 and 267.4-6; Beatus 11.1.5; Primasius 19.166-167.

956 Tyconius 7.5 (215) and 6.43 (214), quoting Ps. 131(132):9 with reference to Rev. 19:8; Caesarius 269.7 and 271.32-33, Primasius 19.164 (this last not in Gryson's apparatus).

[with which to strike the nations. And he will rule them with a rod of iron; …]
As Isaiah says: *He has made my mouth like a sharp sword*;[957] and the Apostle: *and the sword of the Spirit (which is the word of God)*.[958]

AND HE TREADS THE WINE PRESS OF THE FURY OF THE WRATH OF ALMIGHTY GOD.
He also *treads it now, until such time as* he shall tread it *outside the city*.[959] ***/499/***

[19:16] **AND HE HAS ON HIS GARMENT AND ON HIS THIGH A NAME WRITTEN: KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS.**
This is the name which none of the proud knows.[960] *It is written on the tables of the Church's heart, not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God*.[961] *The thigh represents the posterity of seed*.[962] Hence *Abraham, lest his progeny be mingled with a foreign race, used his thigh as a third testimony between himself and his servant*.[963] Concerning this the Apostle said, *as if raising up seed for his dead brother: For in Christ Jesus, by the Gospel, I have begotten you*.[964] It can also be understood in this way: *the Church by serving reigns in Christ, and is lord over lords*.[965] This same name is written on [his] vesture, for by the mystery of his birth and the work of his passion, the kingdom and the majesty are revealed to us. In what follows [the Spirit] explains what the king's vesture and army signify: namely, the struggle of the final conflict and the glory of the reign which will follow it.

[19:17] **AND I SAW AN ANGEL STANDING IN THE SUN; AND HE CRIED WITH A LOUD VOICE, …**
That is, preaching in the Church,[966] which the more it is oppressed, the more brightly it shines, and the more freely it thunders forth.

957 Isa. 49:2.
958 Eph. 6:17.
959 Tyconius 7.6 (215): Caesarius 264.23-26, 267.10-12; Beatus 11.1.9; alluding to Rev. 14:20.
960 Tyconius 7.7 (216): cf. Caesarius 265.1-2; Beatus 11.1.12.
961 2 Cor. 3:3, quoted by Primasius 19.197-198.
962 Primasius 19.188, based on Tyconius 7.7 (216); cf. Caesarius 265.2-4.
963 Tyconius 7.7 (216), alluding to Gen. 24:2-3; cf. Caesarius 265.4-6.
964 Primasius 19.191-196 (not in Gryson's apparatus), quoting 1 Cor. 4:15, and alluding to the institution of levirate marriage ('raising up seed for his dead brother') described in Gen. 38:8, Deut. 25:5, Matt. 22:24, Mark 12:19, Luke 20:28.
965 Caesarius 265.2-3 (not in Gryson's apparatus).
966 Tyconius 7.8 (216): cf. Caesarius 265.7; Beatus 11.2.1; Primasius 19.202.

SAYING TO ALL THE BIRDS THAT FLEW IN THE MIDST OF HEAVEN: …
He calls the *saints* 'birds', who live in the life of heaven: *'Wheresoever the body shall be, there shall the eagles also be gathered together'. Reducing them to a single body, he had called* them *an eagle flying in the midst of heaven*.[967] ***/501/***

COME, GATHER TOGETHER AT THE GREAT SUPPER OF GOD; [19:18] **THAT YOU MAY EAT THE FLESH OF KINGS,** and so forth **[and the flesh of tribunes, and the flesh of mighty men,]**
Come, he says, *you that hunger and thirst after justice*, to the banquet of the kingdom to come, where, when the raging of the proud has been suppressed, you shall be satisfied with *the light of divine justice*.[968]

AND THE FLESH OF HORSES AND OF THOSE THAT SIT ON THEM, [of all freemen and bondmen, and of small and great.]
These, I think, are those horsemen whom he had described at the opening of the seals as issuing forth against the white horse of the Lord.[969]

[19:19] **AND I SAW THE BEAST AND THE KINGS OF THE EARTH AND THEIR ARMIES GATHERED TOGETHER TO MAKE WAR** and so forth **[with him who sat upon the horse, and with his army.** [19:20] **And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet, who worked signs before him by which he deceived those who received the mark of the beast and who worshipped his image. …]**
He explains how that supper of God was prepared for: namely, that the Devil assailed the church, but was defeated.[970]

THESE TWO WERE THROWN ALIVE INTO THE POOL OF FIRE BURNING WITH SULPHUR. [19:21] **AND THE REST WERE SLAIN WITH THE SWORD OF HIM WHO SITS UPON THE HORSE, [that proceeds out of his mouth; …]**
This seems to signify *the Devil and Antichrist.*[971] For inasmuch as they

967 Tyconius 7.8 (216): Caesarius 265.10-12; Beatus 11.2.1 and pr. 5.90, referring to Rev. 8:13. *Cf*. Primasius 19.206-209. However, the embedded quotation from Matt. 24:28 ('Wheresoever …gathered together') is Bede's addition.

968 Primasius 19.241-243, 248-249. Primasius alludes to Matt. 5:6, which Bede quotes directly.

969 Rev. 6:1-8.

970 Cf. Bede, *Capitula lectionum* XXXIV (see Appendix).

971 Primasius 19.226-227.

deserve greater punishment than do other men or demons, so much is it worse to be burned alive in sulphurous flames than to be slaughtered instantly, by the blow of a sword, as those who are destined to die. Unless perhaps it signifies that God's turning against them happened first: *But he who does not believe is already judged*;[972] or else you should understand the one called the false prophet to be either Antichrist or the heretics. For no mortals sin more grievously than do the heretics who deny Christ after they have known Him. ***/503/***

AND ALL THE BIRDS WERE GLUTTED WITH THEIR FLESH.
If now the just man will *rejoice when he sees vengeance*[973] fall upon the wicked, how much more will he do so then, when in the presence of the Judge himself, [the just] shall be made *one spirit* with [the Judge].[974] But the birds can also be understood as unclean spirits, who gorge themselves on the ruin of their own kind.[975] Tyconius explains this supper as follows: *At all times, the Church eats the flesh of her enemies when she is eaten by them, for she will be satisfied at the resurrection, having her revenge upon their carnal work*.[976]

XXXV

[20:1] **AND I SAW AN ANGEL COMING DOWN FROM HEAVEN, HOLDING THE KEY OF THE BOTTOMLESS PIT AND A GREAT CHAIN IN HIS HAND.**
Recapitulating from the beginning[977] [Scripture] explains more fully what it said before: *The beast which you saw, was and is not, and shall rise out of the bottomless pit and go to destruction*.[978] Thus the Lord, endowed with his Father's power, descended into the flesh to wage war upon the prince of this world, and after binding him, to *plunder his goods*.[979]

972 John 3:18.
973 Ps. 57:11 (58:10).
974 1 Cor. 6:17.
975 'But the birds …kind': cf. Primasius 19.250-253.
976 Tyconius 7.12 (217); cf. Beatus pr. 5.91; 11.3.12 and further echoes in pr. 5.86 and 11.2.2.
977 Tyconius 7.13 (218): cf. Beatus pr. 5.91.
978 Rev. 17:8.
979 Based on Tyconius 7.15 (218), including the allusion to Matt. 12:29; cf. Caesarius 263.22-23, 25, 27-264.2; Beatus 11.4.5; Primasius 20.4-8.

[20:2] **AND HE SEIZED THE DRAGON, THAT OLD SERPENT, WHO IS THE DEVIL AND SATAN, …**
'Devil' [*Diabolus*] means *flowing downwards*.[980] But in Greek it means 'accuser', and Satan means 'adversary' or 'one who conspires to harm'.[981] Therefore he is called 'dragon' because of his *malice in inflicting harm*;[982] 'serpent' because of his craftiness in deception; 'Satan' because of his stubbornness in opposition to the Lord.

AND BOUND HIM FOR A THOUSAND YEARS.
That is, *he held him in check, restraining his power to seduce the men who were destined to be liberated*.[983] ***/505/*** For were he able to exercise this in full, by *force* or fraud, he could, over such a long period of time, deceive *many who were weak*.[984] *When he says 'a thousand years'*, he means a *part*, that is, *the remainder of thousand years of the sixth day in which the Lord was born and suffered*.[985]

[20:3] **AND HE THREW HIM INTO THE BOTTOMLESS PIT, …**
Indeed, into the *hearts* of the persecuting people. *Not that the devil was not there before, but because he was cut off from the believers, he began to take possession of the wicked to an even greater degree. Not only are they alienated from God, but they hate the servants of God even more heartily*.[986] The Lord *showed this visibly* when he drove [the devil] *out of men and into pigs*.[987]

AND SHUT HIM UP, AND SET A SEAL UPON HIM, THAT HE SHOULD DECEIVE THE NATIONS NO MORE, [until the thousand years were ended …]
He forbade him, and utterly shut him up, as if with a royal seal, *lest he deceive the nations, but [John means] those [nations] which had been*

980 Jerome, *Lib. int.* 160.16.

981 From Isidore, *Etym.* 8.11.18-19.

982 Gregory, *Mor.* 33.30 (1699.14), 33.31 (1700.29-30).

983 Bede is quoting Primasius 20.14-16, who is turn is quoting, with slight adaptations, Augustine, *DCD* 20.7 (710.54-55). From this point until Rev. 21:5, Primasius quotes directly (without ascription) or paraphrases from *DCD* 20.7.

984 Cf. Primasius 20.74-79, quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.7 (710.54-55).

985 Tyconius 7.15 (218): cf. Beatus 11.4.11; Caesarius 265.25-27; Primasius 20.21-24, quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.7 (710.55-63).

986 Primasius 20.35-38, who is quoting (without ascription) Augustine, *DCD* 20.7 (710.81-711.88).

987 Tyconius 7.16 (18); cf. Caesarius 264.3-5, alluding to the miracle of the Gadarene swine in Mark 5:1-20 and Luke 8:26-39.

destined for life, and which [the devil] seduced before, preventing them from being reconciled to God.[988]

AFTER THAT, HE MUST BE LOOSED FOR A SHORT TIME.
As St Augustine says: *But the devil will be loosed when the ['short time'] comes. For we read that he and his angels will rage with their whole strength for three years and six months. Yet those against whom he is to make war will be men of such a kind that they cannot be conquered by his great onset and all his wiles. But if he had never been loosed his malign power would have been less plainly apparent, and the endurance of the Holy City would have been less thoroughly proved in its great faithfulness. In short, the good use to which the Almighty puts even the devil's great wickedness would have been less clearly perceived*.[989] ***/507/***

[20:4] **AND I SAW THRONES; AND THEY SAT UPON THEM; AND JUDGEMENT WAS GIVEN UNTO THEM; …**
He shows what is to happen *in these thousand years* in which the devil is bound.[990] For *the Church, which will sit with Christ upon twelve thrones to pass judgement, sits already and judges*[991] – she who *deserved to hear from her King: 'Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven'*.[992]

AND THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO WERE BEHEADED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS, AND FOR THE WORD OF GOD, …
This implies what will be said hereafter: They reigned with Christ a thousand years. Therefore the Church reigns with Christ among the living and the dead. As the Apostle says, 'For to this end Christ died and rose again; that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living.' But he mentions only the souls of the martyrs, because this reign after death pertains particularly to those who fought to the death for truth. And this, in fact, is what follows:[993]

988 Tyconius 7.17 (218): cf. Caesarius 265.20-22; Beatus 11.4.8. Primasius 20.53-55 is paraphrasing Augustine, *DCD* 20.7 (711.96-103).

989 Primasius 20.79-86 quoting (without ascription) Augustine, *DCD* 20.8 (713.37-44). Bede clearly recognized the quotation, and supplied the name of the author. The translation is by Dyson, p. 984.

990 Primasius 20.92-96.

991 Tyconius 7.19 (219): cf. Beatus 11.5.1.

992 Primasius 20.99-101, based on Augustine, *DCD* 20.9 (717.56-65), and quoting Matt. 16:19.

993 Primasius 20.104-105, 112-117, 119, citing Augustine, *DCD* 20.9 (717.69, 84-718.94), and quoting Rom. 14:9.

AND WHO HAD NOT WORSHIPPED THE BEAST OR HIS IMAGE, [nor received his mark on their foreheads or in their hands;] AND THEY LIVED, AND REIGNED WITH CHRIST A THOUSAND YEARS.
We should take this to refer to the living and the dead alike,[994] *who either living up to this point in mortal flesh, or dead, reign in Christ even now in a manner appropriate to this [present] time, through the whole interval signified by the number of one thousand years*.[995]

[20:5] **THE REST OF THE DEAD DID NOT LIVE, UNTIL THE THOUSAND YEARS WERE ENDED.**
Whoever have not heard the voice of the Son of God, and passed over from death to life during this entire period of time in which the first resurrection takes place (that is, the resurrection of souls)*, shall surely pass with that same flesh to the second death* – namely, everlasting torments – *in the second resurrection, **/509/** which is [the resurrection] of the flesh*.[996]

THIS IS (he says) **THE FIRST RESURRECTION.**
[Namely, the resurrection] by which we rise through baptism, as the Apostle says: If you be risen with Christ, seek the things that are above. Just as the first death in this life is in consequence of sin, when *the soul that sins shall itself die*, *so the first resurrection in this life is through the remission of sins*.[997]

[20:6] **BLESSED AND HOLY IS HE THAT HAS A SHARE IN THE FIRST RESURRECTION.**
That is, [blessed is he] who will have preserved the state of being born again.[998]

[Against these, the second death has no power;] BUT THEY SHALL BE SAINTS OF GOD AND CHRIST; …
The other version has *priests of God and of Christ*.[999] *This refers not only to*

994 Primasius 20.121, quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.9 (718.94), who in turn is quoting Tyconius 7.19 (219).

995 Primasius 20.136-139, still quoting verbatim from Augustine, *DCD* 20.9 (718.111-114).

996 Primasius 20.147-150, still quoting verbatim from Augustine, *DCD* 20.9 (718.123–719.127).

997 Tyconius 7.20 (220), quoting Col. 3:2 and Ezek. 18:4, 20; cf. Caesarius 269.14-20; Beatus 11.5.14; Augustine, *DCD* 20.10 (719.6 *sqq.*) and 20.6 (707.21-36).

998 Tyconius 7.21 (220): cf. Caesarius 269.21, 272.7; Beatus 11.5.15.

999 This is actually the standard Vulgate reading, which Primasius uses. Bede's preferred

bishops and presbyters, who are properly called priests within the Church, but just as we are all called christs [*i.e.* anointed ones] *because of the mystic unction, so we are all priests, in that we are members of one priest. The apostle Peter speaks of these people: 'A holy nation, a royal priesthood'*.[1000]

AND SHALL REIGN WITH CHRIST A THOUSAND YEARS.
When the Spirit wrote this, he related that the Church would reign a thousand years, that is, until the end of the world. How could there be any doubt about this? For it plainly refers to a perpetual kingdom.[1001]

[20:7] **AND WHEN THE THOUSAND YEARS ARE ENDED, SATAN WILL BE RELEASED FROM HIS PRISON …**
He said they were 'ended', taking *the part for the whole. For [Satan] will be set free in such a way that there will remain three years and six months of final conflict*. But apart from this figure of speech, the time is correctly said to be 'finished'. For such *minute remnants do not deserve to be counted*,[1002] since ***/511/*** seven hundred years and however many God might wish, are called 'an hour' by the Apostle.

AND HE WILL GO FORTH, AND DECEIVE THE NATIONS WHICH ARE AT THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE EARTH, GOG AND MAGOG; AND SHALL GATHER THEM TOGETHER FOR BATTLE, [whose number is like the sand of the sea.]
Then shall he deceive them, that he might assemble them *for this battle. Prior to this, he seduced them through many and various evils, by such means as he could. However, 'he shall go forth' means he shall burst into open persecution from the lairs of hatred*.[1003] Gog and Magog either signify the whole by the part,[1004] or else indicate hidden and overt enemies *by*

---

reading follows the Greek original more closely; cf. Sparks, p. 571; Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 183.

1000 Augustine, *DCD* 20.10 (719.24–720.29), including embedded quotation from 1 Pet. 2:9. Cf. Primasius 20.162-165. Here Bede is quoting from *DCD*, not Primasius, who omits the phrase *who are properly called priests within the Church*. Bede's wording of 1 Pet. 2:9 also follows Augustine rather than Primasius: Mackay, 'Augustine and Gregory', p. 401. The notion that the priestly office is extended to all believers is echoed in Bede's *De tem.* 2 (194.80-94): cf. Bonner, 'Bede: Scholar and Spiritual Teacher', p. 366.

1001 Tyconius 7.22 (220): cf. Caesarius 269.24-27, 272.7-11; Beatus 11.5.18-19.

1002 Tyconius 7.23 (220): cf. Caesarius 269.30-270.1; Beatus 11.6.1-2. Cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.13 (722.21-723.68), cited by Primasius 20.240-243.

1003 Primasius 20.169-172, quoting verbatim Augustine, *DCD* 20.11 (720.4-7).

1004 Tyconius 7.24; cf. Caesarius 272.14 (220).

the interpretation of their names, which mean *'roof'* and *'down from the roof'*.[1005] *For these are 'a roof' because in them, the enemy is now closed over and covered, and they will be 'down from the roof' when they have broken out into open hatred.*[1006]

[20:8] **AND THEY CAME UP UPON THE BREADTH OF THE EARTH, AND SURROUNDED THE CAMP OF THE SAINTS, AND THE BELOVED CITY.**

They are not said to have come, or to be going to come, to one place, as if the beloved city – that is, the Church – was to be besieged *in any particular location*. [The Spirit] preferred to intimate *in the phrase 'breadth of the earth'* that the Church would at that time be persecuted *in all* the nations, and *by the word 'camp', that her warfare will not cease*.[1007]

[20:9] **AND FIRE CAME DOWN FROM GOD OUT OF HEAVEN AND DEVOURED THEM;**

One ought not to think that this is the final punishment; rather, it is the fire of envy by which the adversary of the saints is tormented by their steadfastness [firmitate]. For heaven is called 'the firmament'.[1008] This is *the fire that issued forth from the mouth of God's witnesses* and devoured their enemies. *For at the last **/513/** day*, *he will not rain fire upon them, but when they are gathered in front of him and judged, He will send them into eternal fire*, of which he now speaks.[1009]

A**ND THE DEVIL, WHO DECEIVED THEM, WAS THROWN INTO THE POOL OF FIRE AND SULPHUR, WHERE BOTH THE BEAST** [20:10] **AND THE FALSE PROPHET [will be tormented day and night for ever and ever.]**

That is, at the final judgement, the devil will be cast into eternal fire, where those which he dispatched in advance – that is, the majority of the godless city – are also to be found. The *beast* is to be taken according to context either as the devil or *Antichrist* or *the godless city* itself.[1010] It could be that

1005 Primasius 20.176-178, quoting verbatim Augustine, *DCD* 20.11 (720.19-20).

1006 Primasius 20.183-185, quoting verbatim Augustine, *DCD* 20.11 (720.25-721.28). The etymology of Gog and Magog is also found in Jerome, *In Ez.* 11 (526.1509-1510) and *Lib. int.* 160.19, 27-28.

1007 Primasius 20.187-196, quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.11 (721.30-41).

1008 Primasius 20.197-200; cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.12 (721.1-7).

1009 Tyconius 7.25 (221): cf. Beatus 11.7.1-2.

1010 Primasius 20.249, quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.14 (723.7).

the sudden destruction of the wicked is designated by the fire descending from heaven,[1011] when the Lord at his advent shall slay Antichrist *with the spirit of His mouth*.[1012] He explains more fully how the devil, together with his followers, will be cast into the fire by Christ the Judge.[1013]

XXXVI

[20:11] **AND I SAW A GREAT WHITE THRONE AND HE WHO SAT UPON IT, FROM WHOSE FACE EARTH AND HEAVEN FLED AWAY; [and no place was found for them.]**

[John] said that he saw one sitting on a throne, from whose face heaven and earth fled away. When the judgement is over, heaven and earth will cease to be, and a new heaven and earth will come into existence through the transformation of things, and not by their complete destruction. 'For the form [*figura*] *of this world passes away'; he does not say 'and the substance'*.[1014] For [heaven and earth], it is believed, are to be changed into something better. ***/515/***

[20:12] **AND I SAW THE DEAD, GREAT AND SMALL, STANDING IN THE PRESENCE OF THE THRONE …**

For when the Son of Man shall *sit upon the seat of his majesty, then all the nations shall be gathered together before him.*[1015]

AND BOOKS WERE OPENED. AND ANOTHER BOOK WAS OPENED, WHICH IS THE BOOK OF LIFE …

The other version has *which is the life of every one*.[1016] *Therefore he says that the open books are the testaments of God, for* the world *will be judged according to both Testaments. He calls the memory of our deeds 'the book*

1011 Cf. Bede *In Gen.* 4 (226.1146-1147) where Bede compares the destruction of Sodom to this fiery lake, and quotes Rev. 21:8.

1012 2 Thess. 2:8. Bede repeats the claim that Christ will slay Antichrist (rather than the archangel Michael, as in Rev. 12:7) in *In Gen.* 1 (39.1212-17). Cf. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, pp. 120–121.

1013 'It could be …Christ the Judge': cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.12 (721.15-21).

1014 Primasius 20.252-258, quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.14 (724.17-24); *For the form of this world passes away* is taken from 1 Cor. 7:31. The new heaven and earth: Rev. 21:1.

1015 Matt. 25:32.

1016 *qui est uitae uniuscuiusque*: this addition is found in later north African recensions of the Vetus Latina, e.g. Tyconius 7.27 (221); Sparks, p. 574; Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 192.

of the life of every one', not that he, who knows what is hidden, would have a book in order to remember.[1017]

AND THE DEAD WERE JUDGED BY THE THINGS WHICH WERE WRITTEN IN THE BOOKS, ACCORDING TO THEIR DEEDS.
That is, *they were to be judged out of the [two] Testaments according to what* in them *they had done or not done*.[1018] The books can be understood as the deeds of the righteous, in *comparison* with which the reprobate are *condemned*, *as if they read, when the books are opened, about the good which they themselves chose not to do*.[1019]

[20:13] **AND THE SEA GAVE UP THE DEAD THAT WERE IN IT; AND DEATH AND HELL GAVE UP THEIR DEAD [that were in them] …**
Beyond any doubt, this took place before the dead were judged. Therefore [Scripture] recapitulated what it left out, and continues in sequence, *saying*:[1020]

AND THEY WERE JUDGED, EACH ACCORDING TO HIS DEEDS.
This signifies that bodies were gathered together from the earth, and souls from their several places. The good [souls are designated] by the word *death*, for they endure only the dissolution of the flesh, and not punishment in addition, while the evil souls [are designated] by the word *hell*.[1021] It can also be understood literally to mean that all the bodies which wave has engulfed ***/517/*** or monstrous beast devoured will be raised up again. Tyconius explains it this way: The nations *whom he shall find here alive, are the dead from the sea. 'And death and hell gave up their dead': these are the nations who are buried*.[1022] And when he said *they were judged, every one according to their works*, he shortly thereafter added how.[1023]

1017 Tyconius 7.27 (221-222): cf. Caesarius 270.24-27, 272.23-26 and, more remotely, Beatus 12.1.4; Augustine, *DCD* 20.14 (724.33-35). Note that Bede says the *world* will be judged according to the two Testaments; in Tyconius, it is the *Church* which is judged.

1018 Tyconius 7.28 (222): cf. Caesarius 270.29-30; Beatus 12.1.7; Primasius 20.261-264, quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.14 (724.43-47).

1019 Gregory, *Mor.* 24.16 (1199.65-68).

1020 Primasius 20.276-278; cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.15 (725.53-56).

1021 Cf. Primasius 20.280-281, 288-293; cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.15 (725.1-28).

1022 Tyconius 7.29 (222): cf. Beatus 12.1.11-12 and Caesarius 270.31–271.1. Both of these latter sources quote this passage without naming Tyconius: Vercruysse, 'Bède lecteur de Tyconius', p. 26.

1023 Bonner, *Saint Bede*, p. 11, claims that Bede is rejecting Tyconius's spiritual reading

[20:14] **AND DEATH AND HELL WERE SENT INTO THE POOL OF FIRE. [This is the second death.]**
He speaks of the devil and his followers, whom hell followed, seated, as was said above, on *a pale horse*.[1024] For [John] repeats *what he had already said, presenting it more clearly. 'And the devil, who seduced them, was thrown into the pool of fire and sulphur': here he states more plainly what there he had added in a somewhat obscure manner as concerning the beast and the false prophet as well*.[1025]

[20:15] **AND WHOEVER WAS NOT FOUND WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF LIFE [was sent into the pool of fire].**
That is, whoever is not judged by God to be alive.[1026] In my opinion, therefore, they speak more correctly who interpret the abovementioned books as the consciences of each individual, and their deeds made manifest. For *the book of life* is the *infallible* foreknowledge of God concerning those to whom *eternal life will be given. They are written in it* – that is, *they are known in advance. With the judgement in which he saw the wicked condemned complete, there remains for [John] to speak concerning the good as well*.[1027]

[21:1] **AND I SAW A NEW HEAVEN AND A NEW EARTH. FOR THE FIRST HEAVEN AND THE FIRST EARTH WAS GONE; …**
What he has already said by way of anticipation – that he saw one seated upon a throne from whose face heaven and earth fled away (namely, when the ungodly were judged) – shall take place in this order. ***/519/*** *Then 'the form of this world will pass away' in a conflagration of heavenly fires, so that when heaven and earth have been changed into something better, the congruent quality of this double transformation may harmonize with the incorruptibility and immortality of the bodies of the saints. For then he says:*

AND THE SEA IS NOW NO MORE.
Whether dried up by that extreme heat, or likewise changed into something better, I cannot readily say. For we read of a new heaven and a new earth to come, but not of a new sea. Unless perhaps – for prophetic rhetoric is wont

---

of this verse and defending its literal meaning. However, Bede seems to regard Tyconius's interpretation as a legitimate complement to the literal meaning.

1024 Rev. 6:8; cf. Caesarius 271.2-3.

1025 Primasius 20.304-307, who is quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.15 (726.40-45), alluding to Rev. 20:9-10.

1026 Cf. Caesarius 271.4-5; 272.33-34.

1027 Primasius 20.310-314, quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.15-16 (726.44-2).

to intermingle metaphors with direct speech – he signified by the word 'sea' the stormy life of this world, which then shall cease.[1028]

[21:2] **AND [I, John, saw] THE HOLY CITY, THE NEW JERUSALEM, COMING DOWN OUT OF HEAVEN FROM GOD, …**
This city is said to 'come down out of heaven', for the grace with which God fashioned her is heavenly.[1029]

PREPARED AS A BRIDE ADORNED FOR HER HUSBAND.
But there is another Jerusalem, adorned not for her husband, but for an adulterer.[1030]

[21:3] **[And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying:] BEHOLD THE TABERNACLE OF GOD WITH MEN; AND HE WILL DWELL WITH THEM. [And they shall be his people; and God himself with them will be their God.]**
God himself will be the reward of eternal beatitude for the elect, which they will possess forever, because they are possessed by him.[1031]

[21.4] **AND GOD SHALL WIPE AWAY EVERY TEAR FROM THEIR EYES; …**
By God's gift, *there shall appear such great* and exalted *radiance* in this city, *that no vestiges of old age will remain when heavenly incorruption* shall raise *bodies* on high[1032] and contemplation of the eternal King shall feed minds. ***/521/***

AND DEATH SHALL BE NO MORE; NOR WILL MOURNING, OR CRYING, OR SORROW BE ANY MORE; FOR THE FORMER THINGS ARE PASSED AWAY. [[21.5] **And he who sat upon the throne said: Behold, I make all things new.]**
Earlier on, he said that death had been thrown into the pool of fire.[1033] Now

1028 The entire exegesis of v.1 is verbatim from Primasius 21.2-9, 11-19; cf. Augustine, *DCD* 20.16 (726.7–727.34). The phrase 'The form of this world will pass away' is from 1 Cor. 7:31; cf. Bede's exegesis of Rev. 20:11.

1029 Primasius 21.26-28, quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.17 (727.8-10). Cf. Bede, *Act. Ap.* 10.11 (46.28-29) which also associates the descent of the new Jerusalem with grace.

1030 No source or analogue has been discovered for this passage. It has overtones of Old Testament prophetic denunciation of the sins of Jerusalem, but what Bede might have intended by it is obscure.

1031 Primasius 21.59-61.

1032 Primasius 21.33-36, quoting Augustine, *DCD* 20.17 (727.14-19).

1033 Rev. 20:14.

the same statement can be taken to mean that when the holy city has been glorified in the final judgement, sorrow, weeping and mortality shall remain only in hell.

AND HE [who sat upon the throne] SAID TO ME: WRITE. FOR THESE WORDS ARE MOST TRUSTWORTHY AND TRUE. [21.6] **AND HE SAID TO ME: IT IS DONE …**
It behoves us to believe these things, not to explain them, particularly as [the Spirit] says that 'it is done' – in the past – so that nothing should remain to cause doubts concerning the future.[1034]

I AM ALPHA AND OMEGA; THE BEGINNING AND THE END. …
Just as he testified this of himself at the beginning of the book, so it was necessary to repeat it here for the third time, that it might be believed that 'before me there was no god formed: and after me there shall be none', as Isaiah says.[1035] And because this statement pertains to the end of the world, it can be understood that the one who consummates the world-age [*saeculum*] is the one who is called [its] Creator.

TO HIM THAT THIRSTS I WILL GIVE OF THE FOUNTAIN OF THE WATER OF LIFE FREELY. [[21.7] **He that will conquer will possess these things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.]**
He now sprinkles those believers who are on the road [with water] from this fountain, which in the home-land he will freely offer to those who overcome, that they may slake themselves. Both are freely given, for 'the grace of God is life everlasting[1036]*in Jesus Christ our Lord'. 'And of his fullness we all have received; and grace for grace.'*[1037]

[21:8] **BUT THE FEARFUL AND UNBELIEVING, AND THE ACCURSED** and so forth **[and murderers, and fornicators and sorcerers, and idolaters …]**
In order to caution us, [the Spirit] always mingles stern words with soothing ones. In the same way ***/523/*** Psalm 144, while it intimates the grace of God's compassion, suddenly invokes his rigorous judgement, saying: *The*

1034 Primasius 21.44-46.

1035 Primasius 21.46-49, including quotation from Isa. 43:10. Christ identifies himself as Alpha and Omega in Rev. 1:8 and (in some versions of the text) 1:11; cf. 22:13. See n. 26 above.

1036 Primasius 21.50-51, 53-54, incorporating the beginning of a quotation from Rom. 6:23, which Bede completes.

1037 John 1:16; quoted in Primasius 21.87-88.

Lord keeps all them that love him: but all the wicked he will destroy.[1038] He associates cowards with those who doubt, because he who lacks confidence in the victor's prize, fears to engage in the peril of the contest.

AND ALL LIARS, THEIR LOT WILL BE IN THE POOL BURNING WITH FIRE [and sulphur, which is the second death.]

He shows that there are many kinds of lying, but the most dangerous and detestable kind is the one which sins against religion. He spoke of this above: *they say they are Jews and are not. But they lie: for they are the synagogue of Satan*.[1039]

XXXVII

[21:9] **AND THERE CAME ONE OF THE SEVEN ANGELS WHO HAD THE VIALS FULL OF THE SEVEN LAST PLAGUES, AND SPOKE WITH ME, [saying: …]**

The same preachers who inflict the seven-fold (that is, universal) plague on the wicked, also show future joys to the Church.[1040]

COME, I WILL SHOW YOU THE BRIDE, THE WIFE OF THE LAMB.

He calls the Church *bride* and *wife*, for while she remains immaculate, she continually begets spiritual sons for God. Or else because being now betrothed to God, she shall then be led forth to her everlasting nuptials.[1041]
/525/

[21:10] **AND HE TOOK ME UP IN THE SPIRIT TO A GREAT AND HIGH MOUNTAIN; AND HE SHOWED ME THE HOLY CITY JERUSALEM, …**

After the ruin of Babylon, the holy city which is the bride of the Lamb is seen established upon a mountain. For the stone which was *cut out of a mountain without hands* shattered the image of worldly glory, and it *grew into a great mountain and filled the whole earth*.[1042]

1038 Ps. 144(145):20.

1039 Rev. 2:9. Bede reiterates these remarks about the many forms of lying in *In Prov.* 1 (55.105-110), drawing on Augustine *De mendacio*, and specifically accusing Donatists and Arians of lying 'against religion'.

1040 Compare to the exegesis of Rev. 15:1 and 16:1-2 above.

1041 On this passage as an illustration of Bede's attraction to the theme of the Church as both chaste bride and mother, see Congar, *L'Ecclésiologie du haut moyen âge*, pp. 80–81.

1042 Dan. 2:34-35.

COMING DOWN OUT OF HEAVEN FROM GOD, [21.11] **HAVING THE GLORY OF GOD …**
Then shall she appear to be even more beautiful, when, through the Spirit by which her Bridegroom is believed to have been conceived and generated, she shall fully deserve to carry the heavenly image.[1043]

AND ITS LIGHT WAS LIKE A PRECIOUS STONE, …
The precious stone is Christ,[1044] who said: *And the glory which you have given me, I have given to them*.[1045]

LIKE JASPER STONE, EVEN AS CRYSTAL.
Like jasper, because of the radiance of her virtues; like crystal, because of the inner purity of her mind, and her *unfeigned faith*.[1046]

[21:12] **AND IT HAD A GREAT, HIGH WALL, …**
That is, an unassailable firmness of faith, hope and love.[1047] The Lord can be understood as the great wall that protects the Church everywhere, of which Isaiah spoke: *a wall and a bulwark shall be set therein*[1048] – that is, the protection of the Lord and the intercession of the saints who by teaching make a path for him into the hearts of the faithful.[1049]

HAVING TWELVE GATES, …
These gates are *the apostles* who by their writings or their labour *first* opened *the gate of the Church* to the nations.[1050] ***/527/***

AND AT THE GATES, TWELVE ANGELS …
The teachers [*doctores*]: that is, those who follow the footsteps of the

1043 Primasius 21.88-90; on Christ's conception by the Spirit, cf. Matt. 1:18, Luke 1:35. '…heavenly image': 1 Cor. 15:49.

1044 Tyconius 7.35 (223): cf. Caesarius 273.16-17; Beatus 12.2.31; (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 226.16-17.

1045 John 17:22.

1046 1 Tim. 1:5.

1047 This would seem to be original with Bede, but cf. (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 226.17-18, which interprets the wall as faith.

1048 'This can also be …*therein*': cf. Primasius 21.102-103, 105-108, who also quotes Isa. 26:1.

1049 The prominent role Bede accords to teachers here and elsewhere seems to express his sense of the distinctive character of his own gifts, and of the value of teachers within the larger mission of the Church; see below, n. 1058.

1050 Primasius 21.112-114.

apostles in the mystery of faith and the word.[1051]

AND NAMES WERE WRITTEN, WHICH ARE THE NAMES OF THE TWELVE TRIBES OF THE SONS OF ISRAEL.
This signifies the memory of the ancient fathers that is grafted onto the hearts of preachers. Hence the High Priest, when he is about to enter the tabernacle, is commanded to bear a memorial of the fathers upon his breastplate.[1052]

[21:13] **ON THE EAST, THREE GATES; ON THE NORTH, THREE GATES; ON THE SOUTH, THREE GATES; AND ON THE WEST, THREE GATES.**
I think that this description of the gates, so ingenious, intends to show the mystery of the number twelve, in which is symbolized either the Apostles as a whole, or the perfection of the Church, for through her the faith *of the Holy Trinity* is proclaimed to the four-cornered world. [1053]

[21:14] **AND THE WALL OF THE CITY HAD TWELVE FOUNDATIONS; AND ON THEM, THE TWELVE NAMES OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES AND OF THE LAMB.**
The gates are the same as the 'foundations', and the city is the same as the 'the wall'.[1054] The patriarchs can also be designated by the word *foundations*, who contain within themselves (that is, in allegorical fashion) the names of the apostles.[1055] The city was founded by these men, although it is through the apostles, as if through gates, that it is opened more widely to the nations who are destined to believe. It should be noted that when *foundations* appears in the plural, it signifies the teachers or the virtues of

1051 Bede's allusion to the *doctores …apostolorum uestigia …sequentes* in his exegesis of the final part of this verse is echoed in his description of his own scholarly programme as 'following in the footsteps of the Fathers' in many of his later works: see Introduction, pp. 4, 41, 85.

1052 Exod. 28:29. Cf. *De tab.* 3 (108.598–109.633, esp. the reference to the 'memory *of the fathers*' at line 601).

1053 Tyconius 7.37 (224): cf. Caesarius 273.23-26, 276.29–277.1; Beatus 12.2.50.

1054 Caesarius 273.28-29.

1055 Whether Bede means this in general terms, or is alluding to some specific interpretation of the names of the patriarchs which would connect them to the names of the apostles, is not clear. He may have had in mind an alignment of the Patriarchs, Apostles and stones such as is found, for example, in the diagram illustrating the Book of Armagh (Dublin Trinity College MS 52, fol. 170r), reproduced in Jennifer O'Reilly, 'The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow', *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. Paul Binski and William Noel (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), p. 32, fig. 8.

the Church; but in the singular it means the Lord, who is *the foundation of foundations*.[1056]

[21:15] **AND HE WHO SPOKE WITH ME HAD A MEASURE MADE FROM A REED */529/* OF GOLD [to measure the city and its gates and the wall.]**

Christ who is 'the wisdom of God', reaching 'from end to end mightily and sweetly ordering all things' measures the holy city. *Because he* constitutes *'all things in measure, and number, and weight', he distributes gifts of spiritual graces to each of the faithful*.[1057] It can also be taken to mean the teachers [*doctores*] of the Church, *frail* in body but celestial in mind, who scrutinize with acuity the merits of each person.[1058]

[21:16] **AND THE CITY LIES FOURSQUARE; [and its length is as great as its breadth …]**

The city is said to 'lie foursquare', and to be set out, in its dimensions, equal on every side, for it is not allowed to be marked by any inequality. *For according to the Apostle, to be perfect is to be wise, to possess peace, and that is truly what it is to stand on a four-square solidity*.[1059]

AND HE MEASURED THE CITY WITH THE REED FOR TWELVE [thousand] STADIA; …

That is, he gazed upon the Church, made perfect in [its] faith and deeds, or else he made her to be so. For the perfection of the four principal virtues, raised up by the faith of the Holy Trinity, makes up the dignity of the Church,

1056 The phrase 'foundation of foundations' is found in both Gregory *Mor.* 28.13 (1406.35) and Augustine *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 86.3.19, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1961), p. 1200; not included in Gryson's apparatus. It is repeated below in the discussion of the amethyst in Rev. 21.20. Cf. Primasius 21.143-146, 291.168-175. See also Bede's *In Lucam* 2 (2035-2040), where the plural 'foundations' signifies the *doctores* and the singular 'foundation' Christ, the 'teacher of teachers and foundation of foundations'.

1057 Primasius 21.192-198, quoting 1 Cor. 1:24, Wisd. of Sol. 8:1 and 11:21(20). On Bede's interest in the figure of Wisdom, see Holder, 'The Feminine Christ in Bede's Biblical Commentaries', p. 110 and *passim.* Holder comments that the identification of Christ with Wisdom, which was with God before Creation (Prov. 8:22), was often invoked against the Arians, who demoted Christ to the status of a creature. On the afterlife of this Christological-sapiential exegesis in the medieval iconography of Revelation, see Yves Christe, 'La cité de la Sagesse', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 31 (1988): 29–35 and figs 1–14.

1058 Tyconius 7.39 (224): cf. Caesarius 273.30–274.1, 277.1-2; Beatus 12.2.53. However, Bede adds his own details, namely that the verse refers specifically to *doctores*, and that their function is to scrutinize the merits of individuals.

1059 Primasius 21.201-204, alluding to 2 Cor. 13:11

as in the number twelve.[1060]

AND ITS LENGTH AND HEIGHT AND BREADTH ARE EQUAL.
This is that solidity of unconquered truth by which the Church, supported from below by the length of faith, the breadth of charity and the height of hope, *is not suffered to be 'carried about with every wind of doctrine'*.[1061] The perfect stability of the Church would not exist if one of these were missing.

[21:17] **AND HE MEASURED ITS WALL, A HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR */531/* CUBITS, …**
This sum contains the square of the number twelve, for twelve times twelve makes 144,[1062] signifying that stable perfection of the holy city itself.

THE MEASURE OF MEN or **OF A MAN,[1063] WHICH IS [THE MEASURE] OF AN ANGEL.**
For *the Church is made up of men who are collected together, and raised on high by the promises of Christ, she hopes for equality with the angels*.[1064] On the literal level, [John] signified that the angel appeared to him in the shape of a man.

[21:18] **AND ITS WALL WAS CONSTRUCTED OF JASPER-STONE; …**
This is what the apostle *Peter urges: Be also built up as living stones, a spiritual house*.[1065]

BUT THE CITY ITSELF PURE GOLD, LIKE CLEAR GLASS.
The Church is portrayed as gold – she who is often described as adorned with golden candlesticks and vials for the sake of the worship of wisdom.[1066]

1060 The notion of twelve as the 'product' of faith and works will resurface in Bede's *In Ez.* 2 (443-448). Bede may have had in mind Gregory's identification of the four corners of the house of Job's sons with the cardinal virtues: *Mor.* 2.49 (105.12-17).

1061 Primasius 21.213-215, quoting Eph. 4:14. However, Bede embeds the interpretation of the dimensions as faith, hope and charity, which he apparently took from Rufinus's translation of Origen's *In Genesim*, 2.6, ed. W. A. Baehrens, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 29 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920), 37.13-17.

1062 Cf. Primasius 21.215-217.

1063 The phrase 'or of men' is an insertion peculiar to Bede: cf. Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, p. 184.

1064 Primasius 21.219-221.

1065 Primasius 21.231-232, quoting 1 Pet. 2:5.

1066 Primasius 21.237-239. Tyconius 7.40 (224; cf. Caesarius 274.4-6, 277.3-4) interprets the candlestick and vials as the Church's *faith*.

Glass refers to faith in the truth, because what is seen without is the same as what is within, and there is nothing counterfeited or concealed in the saints of the Church.[1067] It can also refer to *that time when the thoughts of each shall be openly declared to the other.*[1068]

[21:19] **AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE WALL OF THE CITY WERE ADORNED WITH EVERY PRECIOUS STONE.**

The different names of the stones indicate either the type or the order or the diversity of virtues by which the whole of the heavenly Jerusalem is built up.[1069] For it is difficult for individuals to flower with all the virtues. Indeed ***/533/*** *Isaiah*, when he describes the adornment of that same city, says: *Behold, I will lay your stones in order and will lay your foundations with sapphires.*[1070] And immediately, as if by way of explanation, he adds: *All your children shall be taught of the Lord.*[1071]

THE FIRST FOUNDATION WAS JASPER; …[1072]

There are many kinds of jasper. One is green and looks as if it were painted with flowers. The other is *like emerald*, but *of an opaque colour*, and people believe that *all sorts of apparitions can be put to flight* with it. *Another* glitters like *snow or the foam of ocean waves* mixed with blood, as it were.[1073] Thus jasper indicates the greenness of faith that never withers,

1067 Tyconius 7.40 (223): cf. Caesarius 274.6-8, and, more freely, Primasius 21.243-244.

1068 Primasius 21.244-246; cf. Mark 4:22, Luke 8:17.

1069 Based on Tyconius 7.41 (224-225); cf. Primasius 21.268-272; Caesarius 274.13-15 (not in Gryson's apparatus, but cited in his apparatus to Tyconius).

1070 Isa. 54:11, quoted by Primasius 21.253-254.

1071 Isa. 54:13, quoted by Primasius 21.256-258.

1072 Bede's lapidary of the celestial city is an allegorical interpretation of the properties and origins of each of the twelve stones. No source or cognate for the allegory as a whole has been traced. As for the properties, the parallel passages from Solinus and Isidore given below do not account for all the elements of Bede's lore. Gryson rejects the arguments of Peter Kitson that Bede used one or more Latin versions of Epiphanius's *De duodecim gemmis*: see Peter Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part 1, the background; the Old English Lapidary', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978): 21. He nonetheless agrees with Kitson that there is probably some influence from glossaries. The names of the gemstones in Revelation were not familiar to an Anglo-Saxon audience, and hence they feature in early Latin–Latin and Latin–English glossaries: Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions, Part 1', pp. 28–29 and 35 *sqq.* The bottom stratum of these glossaries was a compilation of *glossae collectae* composed in the last quarter of the seventh century, probably in Canterbury. The Irish *De XII lapidibus* also presents suggestive parallels: Gryson, Bede ed. Introduction, pp. 173–177.

1073 Jerome, *In Is.* 15.7 (1560.168-172). The phrase 'of a dense colour' is from Isidore, *Etym.* 16.7.8.

imbued with the sacrament of the Lord's Passion by the waters of baptism, and furnished in those who make progress by their merits for all the flowers of the spiritual graces. For whoever has this [faith] *drives off groundless fears*, [for] as blessed Peter the apostle warns, *because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goes about seeking whom he may devour; resist him, steadfast in the faith*. And he can say with the bride: *My beloved is white and ruddy*.[1074] Hence it is fitting that here the fabric of the wall be made from this stone, and also that the bulwarks of the same city are furnished and adorned with it, according to Isaiah.[1075]

THE SECOND, SAPPHIRE; …

Moses explained the colour along with the symbolic meaning of this stone, ***/535/*** for in his description of the appearance of God he said: *under his feet as it were a work of sapphire stone, and as the heaven, when clear*.[1076] *Ezekiel also says that the place in which the throne of God stands looks like a sapphire*,[1077]and that the glory of the Lord resides in this colour, which bears a likeness to the supercelestial realm. Even so, he who is like this can say with the Apostle: *But our conversation is in heaven*.[1078] [*The sapphire*] *when it is struck by the sun, emits from itself a blazing flash*.[1079] For the mind of the saints, ever intent on heavenly things and daily renewed by the rays of the divine light, pursues eternal things with greater contrition and ardour, so to speak, and persuades others to seek after [them]. Now the fact that [sapphire] is said to be found in the Red Sea,[1080] signifies that the minds of mortal men are sublimely raised on high by the Lord's passion and through the washing of holy baptism to the heavenly things they should anticipate.

THE THIRD, A CARCHEDONIUS …[1081]

1074 'For whoever …ruddy': Jerome, *In Is.* 15.7 (1561.178-179), altering Jerome's Vetus Latina of Song of Sol. 5:10 to the Vulgate reading. Bede, however, intrudes the quotation from 1 Pet. 5:8.

1075 Isa. 54:12.

1076 Exod. 24:10

1077 Jerome, *In Is.* 15.7 (1560.159-162) referring to Ezek. 1:26.

1078 Phil. 3:20.

1079 *De XII lap.* 306, ed. Bayless and Lapidge, p. 166.

1080 *Ibid.* However, in *DNR* 42, Bede quotes Isidore's information that gemstones found in the Red Sea are red: see trans. by Kendall and Wallis, p. 96 and n. 212. Bede may not have noticed this discrepancy, or not seen it as a contradiction. Some ancient lapidary traditions, such as Damigeron, state that rubies or carbuncles are extracted from sapphires: E. Abel, *Orphei Lithica* (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1881), pp. 174–175.

1081 Bede's lemma uses this word instead of the one found in the mainstream recension of

Carchedonius shines with a sort of pale light, like the flame of a lamp;[1082] it *sparkles in the open air*, but not *indoors*.[1083] It points to those who, upheld by heavenly desire, nevertheless evade the notice of men and perform their fasting, almsgiving and prayers in secret.[1084] But when they are bidden to appear in public in the service of doctrine or in some other matter that will benefit the saints, then ***/537/*** they display the glory they bear within. [This stone] *resists being carved*, and *is said to attract straws to itself* if it is *struck by the sun's rays, or warmed by being rubbed with the fingers*.[1085] This aptly corresponds to those people who refuse to allow anything to conquer their fortitude, but who associate those who are more frail with the light and warmth which they have by right. It is said of one of these: *He was a burning and a shining light*[1086] – burning, that is, with love; shining in speech. They always replenish the light of their virtues with the oil of inward charity, lest it fail. The fact that chalcedony comes from the region of the Nasamones,[1087] a province of Ethiopia, indicates that these people, under the burning fervour of love, are nonetheless counted unworthy, their lowly reputation being like a black skin.

THE FOURTH, AN EMERALD.

The emerald is of a green so *deep* that it *surpasses* all *verdant plants, leaves, and jewels*, *tinting green the air that reflects it round about*. It also *improves green wine and oil, as its nature permits*. There are many *types, but the more noble ones are Scythian; the Bactrian ones occupy the second rank, and the Egyptian, the third*.[1088] It thus signifies the souls who are ever flourishing in faith: the more they are tested by the hostility of the world (which the cold of Scythia symbolizes), the more they strive both to grasp in their mind the *inheritance that cannot fade,* ***/539/*** *reserved in heaven*,[1089] and to disseminate it to their neighbours by preaching. By the chalice of the Lord's passion and the fulness of inner charity bestowed by the Holy Spirit, they advance in

---

the Vulgate, *calceldonius* ('chalcedony'). *Carchedonius* is a genuine Latin word, but *calcedonius* appears only in the Vulgate.

1082 Probably from an Anglo-Saxon lapidary glossary, related to the glossaries of the Epinal-Erfurt-Corpus-Leiden type; see Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions, Part 1', pp. 36 and 43.

1083 *De XII lap.* 311, ed. Bayless and Lapidge, p. 166.

1084 Cf. Matt. 6:1-6.

1085 Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 52.59-60, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), p. 194.

1086 John 5:35.

1087 Isidore, *Etym.* 16.14.5.

1088 Isidore, *Etym.* 16.7.1-2.

1089 1 Pet. 1:4.

their contempt of the world. The native earth of these stones matches them in a most delightfully fitting manner. It is rich land, but uninhabitable. For though it *abounds with gold and gems,* it is occupied by *gryphons – birds of great ferocity*,[1090] or rather, wild flying beasts [*ferae*]. For they are quadrupeds with bodies like those of lions, but the head and wings of eagles.[1091] The Arimaspi, who are remarkable for the single eye which they bear in the middle of their forehead,[1092] fight with them to carry off these stones.[1093] *The greed of both the wild beasts who seize them and the Aramaspi who guard them is amazing*.[1094] The Psalmist drew nigh to this land abounding in the treasures of virtues, when he said: *Lo, I went far off, flying away: and I abode in the wilderness*;[1095] that is, I have removed myself, fleeing the wanton spirits of this world. In this [land] he came upon beasts who opposed him, when he prayed, saying: *Let deceitful lips be made dumb which speak iniquity against the just, with pride and abuse*.[1096] In this as well, he shows that he has found desirable treasures, since he follows this up in loving admiration with: *O how great is the multitude of your sweetness, O Lord, which you have hidden for them that fear you*[1097] and so forth, to the end of the psalm. Against winged creatures like these, panting to drag the seed of the divine word away from us, ***/541/*** all the saints keep watch by heavenly desire with undivided attention – with the single eye of wonder, as it were – in order that they may be able to discover and unearth the jewel of faith and of the other virtues.[1098] For the higher the virtue, the fewer are they who cultivate it, and the more dire the persecution they suffer at the hands of unclean spirits. These, like gryphons, earthly in their baseness of their deserts, but flying on high in their arrogant spirit, contend with ceaseless effort for spiritual riches – not to be able to possess them for their own

1090 Solinus 15.22, ed. Mommsen, p. 86.

1091 Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 12.2.17.

1092 Cf. Pliny, *HN* 7.2.10. Bede may well have had access to Pliny's Book 7 through the *florilegium* that furnished many of his references to the early books of *HN*, though the only quotation from Book 7 found elsewhere in his *oeuvre* (*DTR* 37) is mediated through Augustine.

1093 Solinus 15.23, ed. Mommsen, p. 86.

1094 Pliny, *HN* 7.2.11; Pliny however says that it is the gryphons which guard the stones, and the Arimaspi that seize them.

1095 Ps. 54:8 (55:7).

1096 Ps. 30:19 (31:18).

1097 Ps. 30:20 (31:19).

1098 Bede seems to be fusing two allusions: to the parable of the treasure buried in the field, and to the parable of the merchant and the 'pearl of great price' (Matt. 13:44-45). Cf. Bede, *In Prov.* 2 (10-14).

use, but so that they can take them away from human beings. And because such exalted faith has been made known to the world through the Gospel, the emerald is fittingly placed in the fourth rank, because of the four books of the Gospel.

[21:20] **THE FIFTH, SARDONYX; …**
This stone, deriving its white colour *from the onyx* and its red *from the sardius*, receives from both the name of sardonyx.[1099] There are numerous varieties. One *looks like red earth*.[1100] Another seems *pied*, like blood gleaming through *a human finger-nail*.[1101] Another contains *three colours: black on the bottom, white in the middle, and red on the top*.[1102] This stone may be compared to people who are ruddy in the passion of their body, white in the purity of their spirit, but contemptible to themselves in the humility of their minds, protesting with the Apostle that *though **/543/** our outward man is corrupted, yet the inward man is renewed day by day*.[1103] And again: *For I am not conscious to myself of anything. Yet am I not hereby justified.*[1104] And likewise the Psalmist: *Although a man walk in the image of God* – that is, in virtue of mind – *yet shall he be disquieted in vain*,[1105] that is, by the infirmity of the flesh. Suffering also abides in the infirmity of the body, for those who kill the body cannot kill the soul,[1106] and humility derives from the fragility of that body, as it is said: *Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?*[1107] The sardonyx is appropriately inserted into the fifth foundation, for it is certain that our body is supported by the five senses.

THE SIXTH, SARDIUS; …
The sardius, which is the colour of blood throughout,[1108] signifies the glory of the martyrs, of which it is said: *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints*.[1109] Appropriately, it is in the sixth place, since our Lord was both incarnate in the sixth age of the world, and crucified for the salvation of the whole world on the sixth day.

1099 Isidore, *Etym*. 16.8.4.
1100 Gregory, *Mor.* 18.75 (939.9-10).
1101 Isidore, *Etym.* 16.8.3.
1102 Isidore, *Etym.* 16.8.4.
1103 2 Cor. 4:16.
1104 1 Cor. 4:4.
1105 Ps. 38(39):7.
1106 Cf. Luke 12:4-5.
1107 Rom. 7:24.
1108 Anglo-Saxon lapidary glosses: see Kitson, ‘Lapidary Traditions, Part 1’, p. 36.
1109 Ps. 115(116):15.

THE SEVENTH, CHRYSOLITE; …

The stone chrysolite *shines like gold*, and has fiery sparks.[1110] Its appearance symbolizes those who shine in the understanding of true and supernal wisdom, and who pour forth words of exhortation to their neighbour, or even signs of power, like sparks of fire. Arator says of them:

Love inhabits their mind and ardour warms their speech.[1111]

Because this happens only through the gift of spiritual grace, ***/545/*** chrysolite is most appropriately in the seventh foundation. The grace of the Holy Spirit is often symbolized by the number seven, of whom it was said above: *and from the seven spirits which are before his throne*.[1112] The fact that one can find a certain variety of this stone which is green and blue also agrees with this interpretation. Hence the Hebrews call it *tharsis* because it resembles the colour of the sea.[1113] Greenness, indeed, refers to the integrity of faith, which is called the beginning of wisdom; and water [refers] allegorically to the Holy Spirit, as the Lord testifies, who says: *He that believes in me, as the Scripture says: out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. Now this he said of the Spirit which they should receive who believed in him*.[1114]

THE EIGHTH, BERYL; …

Beryl is like looking closely at water which has been struck by a ray of the sun, and which reflects back a beautiful red colour.[1115] But it will not sparkle unless it is has been shaped into a hexagonal form by polishing;[1116] its brightness is intensified by the reflection of the angles. It signifies men who are wise indeed in their natural endowments, but who shine even more with the light of supernal grace.[1117] Solomon is our witness that water can

1110 Anglo-Saxon lapidary glosses: see Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions, Part 1', p. 36.

1111 Arator, *De actibus apostolorum* 1.147 (19).

1112 Rev. 1:4.

1113 Cf. numerous passages in the works of Jerome, e.g. *Commentariolus in Psalmos* 47 (210.4-7); *Epistolae* 37.2 (287.13-288.4); *In Dan.* 3.10.6a (891.672-4); *In Is.* 1.63 (210.29-31). Isidore, *Etym.* 16.15.2 also mentions the comparison to the colour of the sea.

1114 John 7:38-39.

1115 This anomalous fusion of red and green may be a clue that Bede had access to a translation of the second part of Epiphanius's *De XII gemmis*. In the first part, Epiphanius says that beryl is green, but in part 2, it is likened to Joseph's bloody coat; see Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions, Part 2', p. 83. Gryson doubts that Bede knew Epiphanius (Bede ed. Introduction, p. 175), but provides no alternative source.

1116 Isidore, *Etym.* 16.7.5; cf. *De XII lap.* 313, ed. Bayliss and Lapidge, p. 166.

1117 Kitson ('Lapidary Traditions, Part 2', pp. 83–84) again points to the second part of Epiphanius's *De XII gemmis* as Bede's source. Gryson rejects Kitson's arguments, but offers no alternative source. The final phrase re-appears in Bede, *In Sam.* 3 (993).

signify depth of meaning; he says: *Words from the mouth of a man are as deep water*.[1118] But neither human nor even divine wisdom arrives at perfect splendour unless the fulfilment of works be added to it. For the perfection of action is often designated in the number six, particularly because the creation of the world was completed in this number. ***/547/*** *The fact that it is said to scorch the hand of anyone who holds it*,[1119] makes it evident beyond doubt that whoever joins himself to a holy man is made anew in the fire of his good conduct.

THE NINTH, A TOPAZ; …[1120]

The topaz is a stone which is all the more expensive because it is hard to find. It is said to come in two colours, one of purest gold, the other shining with ethereal brightness – rosy richness and modest purity. It is close to the chrysoprase stone in size and colour. It glows especially bright when it is struck by a ray of the sun; it surpasses the precious radiance of all gems, and its sight provokes in a singular fashion the longing delight of the eyes. If you wish to polish it, you make it dull; if you leave it to its own nature, it shines. Kings themselves regard it as an object of wonder, so think nothing amongst their treasures to be its equal. The supremely lovely quality of its nature is rightly compared to the beauty of the contemplative life. Holy kings, *whose heart is in the hand of God*,[1121] justly prefer this to all the riches of good works and all the gems of virtue. Turning the keenness and attention of their pure mind towards it with the greatest intensity, ***/549/*** they grasp more ardently in spirit the sweetness of the heavenly life, the more frequently they are struck by the splendour of supernal grace.[1122] Therefore holy men have a golden colour from the flame of inward charity, and an ethereal colour

1118 Prov. 18:4.

1119 *De XII lap.* 313, ed. Bayless and Lapidge, p. 166.

1120 Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* 118.127 (1115-1116).

1121 Prov. 21:1.

1122 Bede's commendation of the contemplative life to kings, above every other virtue, may be compared to his account of Anglo-Saxon kings who renounced their thrones to embrace the monastic life or to go on pilgrimage to Rome (e.g. Sebbi in *HE* 4.11, Caedwalla in 5.7, Cenred in 5.13). Clare Stancliffe points out that this phenomenon of kings voluntarily abandoning their rule for the sake of the religious life is found almost exclusively in England, at least among the Germanic kingdoms. The practice is Irish in origin, and antedates and postdates the English manifestation. Stancliffe sees major differences between areas of Europe where conversion was carried out by indigenous clergy, who viewed Christian kingship in a positive light, and areas where conversion was carried out by monks, and came packaged in specifically monastic values: 'Kings who Opted Out', *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. Patrick Wormald (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 154–176.

from the contemplation of supernal sweetness. Often they are damaged by the turmoil of this present age, as if by the rasping of a file. It is not easy for the mind at one and the same time to be anxious for worldly affairs, tribulations, cares and sorrows, and to contemplate those joys of the heavenly life, at ease and in a tranquil frame of mind. Rather [the mind] proclaims with groans, *My eye is troubled through indignation: I have grown old amongst all my enemies*.[1123] [Topaz] *is said to be found on an island* of the *Thebaid* called *Topazion, from whence it derives its name*.[1124] This can be interpreted in two ways: those regions of the Egyptians abound particularly in flocks of monks; and whoever shall dwell in the vicinity of *the Sun of justice*[1125] shall surely be coloured with the glow of ethereal light. And it is lovely that this stone is positioned where it is, for just as the perfection of the active life is in the eighth rank, so the perfection of speculative sweetness is in the ninth – either because nine orders of angels, whose life it resembles, are found in Holy Scripture, or because it is one step removed from the ***/551/*** denarius of eternal beatitude, if I may so express it (that is, from death). Sighing with this supreme desire, the prophet said: *Therefore I have loved your commandments above gold and the topaz*[1126] – that is, I was delighted in the surpassingly sweet love of your commandments, above all the fame of deeds which win approval, and above every height of contemplative joy which is possible in this world. The first and *greatest* of these is *You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart and with your whole soul and with your whole mind*,[1127] which most certainly cannot be fully accomplished save on the summit of the heavenly kingdom.

THE TENTH, A CHRYSOPRASE; …

Chrysoprase is *green mixed with gold, taking on* a sort of *purple* radiance *with gold flecks* scattered throughout. It comes from India.[1128] It signifies those who deserve the verdure of the eternal fatherland by of the brightness of perfect charity, and who display it before others in the purple light of their martyrdom. These people, when they prefer eternal glory (for they despise this present life), follow the example of their Lord who appeared in

1123 Ps. 6:8(7).

1124 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* 118.127 (1116.2352-2354).

1125 Mal. 4:2.

1126 Ps. 118(119):127.

1127 Matt. 22:38, 37.

1128 Isidore, *Etym.* 16.7.7; cf. Anglo-Saxon lapidary glosses (Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions, Part 1', p. 37). The detail concerning the 'purple radiance' comes from *De XII lap.* 312 (ed. Bayless and Lapidge, p. 166).

the flesh, and they display the brightness of their merits as though in India – that is, near the rising sun. And because ***/553/*** they earnestly look forward to *shining as the sun in the kingdom of their Father*,[1129] and to reigning together with their King, with whom they now suffer, they are rightly placed in the tenth position. The denarius with which the servants in the Lord's vineyard are rewarded[1130] symbolizes the image of the eternal King which will be received when the Decalogue is fulfilled in every respect by the perfect love of God and neighbour – which cannot happen in the ninth stage.[1131]

THE ELEVENTH, A JACINTH; …

The jacinth is *found in Ethiopia, and has a blue colour*. The *best [kind] is not transparent, nor dulled by density, but glows in a perfect mixture of both,* and *exhibits a softly* purified *lustre*. *It does not shine uniformly*, but changes with the appearance of the sky. *Under a calm sky it is bright and attractive; under a cloudy one, it grows dim and fades before the eyes.*[1132] It designates those souls which are forever consecrated to heavenly contemplation, and who approximate in some degree the angelic way of life, to the extent that this is permitted to mortals. They are bidden to keep their heart with every protection of discretion,[1133] lest having had some experience of the sublimity of understanding they dare to *seek* what is *too high for* them and *search into things above* their *ability*[1134] for *it is the glory of the Lord to conceal the word*,[1135] that is, to philosophize concerning God or Christ the man with caution. [They are also to *keep their heart*] lest they fall back again through sloth to the frail beginnings of faith,[1136] and *the first rudiments of God's word*.[1137] But rather, let them advance along the King's highway, protected *by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left*,[1138] ***/555/*** and changing their face with the heavens by suitably observing the time, let them say to those who look upon them: *For, whether we be transported in*

1129 Matt. 13:43.

1130 Matt. 20:1-16.

1131 Cf. Matt. 22:37-40.

1132 A fusion of Isidore, *Etym.* 16.9.3 with Solinus 30.32-33 (Mommsen, p. 136). The phrase 'bears a softly purified lustre' (*et purificatum suauiter florem trahit*) seems to be a misreading of Solinus's *et purpurae fucatum suauiter florem trahit* – 'and bears a lustre softly tinged with purple' (cf. Isidore: *sed ex utroque temperamento lucet purpuraque refulgens*).

1133 Cf. Prov. 4:23.

1134 Ecclus. 3:22.

1135 Prov. 25:2.

1136 Cf. Gal. 4:9.

1137 Heb. 5:12.

1138 2 Cor. 6:7; Num. 20:17, 21:22.

mind, it is to God; or whether we be sober, it is for you.[1139] Like the jacinth covered by a cloud [such a person] says: *You are not constrained by us; but in your own bowels you are constrained*.[1140] And again: *For I judged not myself to know anything among you, but Jesus Christ; and him crucified*.[1141] Like [a jacinth] seen in a clear light, he says: *Howbeit we speak wisdom among the perfect*.[1142]

THE TWELFTH, AN AMETHYST.

The amethyst is *purple* with a *violet colour intermixed*, and *something like the glow of a rose, gently emitting small flames*. But as well, it has something *in its purple which is not altogether fiery*, *but glows red, like wine*.[1143] The beauty of purple, then, signifies the state of the heavenly kingdom, while the rose and violet is the humble modesty of the saints and their precious death. That is to say, their minds were raised up, first and foremost, to the highest things, even when to outward view they seemed to suffer despondency with patience, for in the midst of their trials they always remembered the Lord's promise: *Fear not, little flock, for it has pleased your Father to give you the kingdom*.[1144] These people spread the flame of charity not only amongst themselves, but even to their persecutors, ***/557/*** imploring on bended knee: *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge*.[1145] And in the cup of suffering that must be drunk, they are instead made drunk by the perpetual recollection of that *wine* that *cheers the heart of man*,[1146] and which the Lord has promised that he shall *drink anew* with his disciples *in the kingdom of* his *Father*.[1147] In jasper, then, is the greenness of faith; in sapphire, the loftiness of celestial hope. In chalcedony the flame of interior charity is symbolized; in emerald, the bold confession of that same faith amidst adversities; in sardonyx, the humility of the saints amidst their virtues. In sardius is expressed the blood of the martyrs, worthy of reverence; in chrysolite, to be sure, spiritual preaching accompanied by miracles; in beryl, the perfect working of

1139 2 Cor. 5:13.
1140 2 Cor. 6:12.
1141 1 Cor. 2:2.
1142 1 Cor. 2:6.
1143 Isidore, *Etym.* 16.9.1. On this passage in connection to Bede's understanding of varieties of the colour purple, see Henderson, *Vision and Image in Early Christian England*, p. 130.
1144 Luke 12:32.
1145 Acts 7:59.
1146 Ps. 103(104):15.
1147 Matt. 26:29.

preachers. In topaz, their ardent contemplation is demonstrated; then in chrysoprase, both the labour and the reward of the holy martyrs; in jacinth, the heavenly exaltation of the teachers [*doctores*] to things on high, and their humble descent to the human level for the sake of the weak. In amethyst is designated the continual memory of the heavenly kingdom in the spirit of the humble.

Each of these precious stones is assigned to a specific foundation; for although all the perfect ones on whom the city of our God is founded and adorned upon his holy mountain shine with the light of spiritual grace, [yet] *to one by the Spirit is given the word of wisdom, and to another the word of knowledge, to another, faith in the same Spirit*, and so on.[1148] *Its craftsman and builder is God*,[1149] who is the foundation of foundations,[1150] and who has deigned to be made a high priest for our sake so that the sacrifice of his own blood ***/559/*** might both cleanse and consecrate the ramparts of that city, that he might possess everything the Father has as his own. Hence it was commanded that these same stones should be upon the breast of the high priest, and that these should be inscribed with the names of the patriarchs, so that it might be revealed through a supremely beautiful symbol that all of the spiritual gifts which each of the saints receives singly and individually were also perfectly complete in the man *Christ Jesus, the mediator between God and man*.[1151]

Perhaps I may seem to have discussed the precious stones at greater length than was suitable for this summary style of commentary [*commaticum interpretandi genus*]. However, it was necessary carefully to explain their natures and native lands, and then more subtly to investigate their symbolic meaning, but also to follow their sequence and number. Considering the depth of this subject, it would seem to me that I have said very little, and that in a brief and condensed way. As a suppliant I beseech the reader to give thanks to God if he sees that I have travelled along the right path. But should he detect that it has turned out other than as I wished, let him pray with me that God may forgive my error.[1152] But enough of this: let us look at what remains.

1148 Based on Tyconius 7.41 (225); cf. Caesarius 274.13-16 and 277.5-7. Bede fleshes out Tyconius's allusion to 1 Cor. 12:8-9.

1149 Heb. 11:10.

1150 See exegesis on Rev. 21:14 above.

1151 1 Tim. 2:5.

1152 Bede's apology contains some echoes of the closing sentences of Augustine's *DCD* 22.30 (866.149-152).

[21:21] **AND THE TWELVE GATES ARE TWELVE PEARLS, ONE FOR EACH [GATE]; [and every several gate was of one single pearl …]**
All the glory of the Head is referred to the body. And as *the true light, which enlightens every man*[1153] has granted to his saints that they might be *the light of the world*,[1154] so also, even though he is the *pearl of great price* which ***/561/*** the wise merchant purchased, having *sold all that he had*, he nevertheless compares his followers to the brightness of pearls.[1155]

AND THE STREET OF THE CITY WAS PURE GOLD, LIKE TRANSPARENT GLASS.
He fashions the streets out of the same metals with which he had just said the city was adorned; for many live a more relaxed or lower way of life girded with the highest virtues within the Church, and they shine with purity of mind and with the radiance of [their] works.[1156]

[21:22] **AND I SAW NO TEMPLE IN IT; FOR ITS TEMPLE IS THE LORD GOD ALMIGHTY AND THE LAMB.**
He says: Although I said that the city was constructed of stones, nonetheless I did not mean that the resting place of the saints is within a material building. For God himself is their sole light, and house, and rest.[1157]

[21:23] **AND THE CITY HAS NO NEED OF THE SUN OR THE MOON TO SHINE IN IT; …**
Because the Church is not governed by the light or the elements of the world; rather, she is led through the darkness of the world by Christ the eternal Sun.[1158]

FOR THE GLORY OF GOD HAS ILLUMINATED IT, [and the Lamb is its lamp.]
In our homeland, we will rejoice in that very light by which we are led as we march along the way. Instructed by this same [light], we [now] distinguish between good and evil; then, beatified by him, we shall see only what is good.[1159]

1153 John 1:9.
1154 Matt. 5:14.
1155 Matt. 13:45; cf. Primasius 21.273-276.
1156 Cf. Primasius 21.277-283, 287-288, 291-292.
1157 Cf. Primasius 21.296-297, 299-303.
1158 Caesarius 274.24-26; cf. 277.13-15.
1159 Primasius 21.321-323.

[21:24] **AND THE NATIONS SHALL WALK BY ITS LIGHT; …**
He signifies *that one and the same Lamb is now a way for pilgrims, and will then be the life of citizens*.[1160]

AND THE KINGS OF THE EARTH SHALL BRING THEIR GLORY AND HONOUR INTO IT.
Here he calls spiritual men 'kings',[1161] who confer all the riches of their virtues upon the Church in praises. ***/563/***

[21:25] **AND ITS GATES SHALL NOT BE SHUT BY DAY; FOR THERE WILL BE NO NIGHT THERE.**
He relates that the light of the Lamb is perpetual, indeed, that he himself will serve as an everlasting lamp in that city, when night-time is abolished. That the gates will not be shut is a sign of total security. There it is no longer said: 'Watch and pray that you enter not into temptation', but rather 'Be still and see that I am God'.[1162]

[21:26] **AND THEY SHALL BRING THE GLORY AND HONOUR OF THE NATIONS INTO IT.**
Because it is to be gathered together from all the nations.[1163]

[21:27] **THERE SHALL NOT ENTER INTO IT ANY THING THAT IS DEFILED, [or that practices abomination or lies; but only they who are written in the book of life of the Lamb.]**
He describes *the Church* of that time, when *the good shall reign alone with Christ*, the wicked having been separated from their midst.[1164] But even now, no impure person or liar is within the Church, nor does one who hates her behold the light of the city of God, for darkness has blinded his eyes.

[22:1] **AND HE SHOWED ME THE RIVER OF WATER OF LIFE, CLEAR AS CRYSTAL, PROCEEDING FROM THE THRONE OF GOD AND OF THE LAMB [through the middle of its street,]**
In the river of life flowing through the midst of the city, the celebration of baptism is no longer signified; rather, the fruit of that sacrament is now

1160 Primasius 21.325-326.
1161 Primasius 21.328.
1162 Primasius 21.331-332, 336-339, quoting Matt. 26:41 (cf. Mark 14:38, Luke 22:46) and Ps. 45(46):11.
1163 Primasius 21.342-343.
1164 Primasius 21.345-347.

revealed. For the Church now 'sows in the spirit' that it then may 'reap life everlasting' from the spirit.[1165]

[22:2] **AND ON BOTH SIDES OF THE RIVER WAS THE TREE OF LIFE, …** The tree of life is seen on either side of the fountain of life. For [the tree] imbues the saints with celestial fruit, whether you interpret it as the glory of the holy Cross,[1166] or as the Lord Christ;[1167] who was already revealed before his baptism ***/565/*** in the Old Testament,[1168] and who now is manifested through the mystery of baptism, *For there is no other name under heaven given to men, whereby we must be saved*.[1169] Indeed, this tree which John described in the golden Jerusalem is the same one which Moses described as flowering in Paradise.[1170] Solomon said it was *a tree of life to them who lay hold on her*.[1171] I believe that this river was prefigured by the Jordan, on the far side of which Moses opened the precepts of salvation to the peoples, and within which Jesus opened the promised land.

BEARING TWELVE FRUITS, YIELDING ITS FRUIT EACH MONTH; …
By twelve months, he implies the entire span of life[1172] – meaning, of course, that [life] of which it is said: *And your years shall not fail*.[1173] And again: *And there shall be month after month, and sabbath after sabbath*;[1174] where the face of the Lord is present, there is eternal health, and the eternal food of life. It can also be understood in a straightforward way [to mean] that the Cross of Christ bears fruit *through the teaching of the twelve apostles*.[1175]

AND THE LEAVES OF THE TREE WERE FOR THE HEALING OF THE NATIONS.
If the fruit is taken to be the reward of blessed immortality, then the leaves are correctly understood as the perpetual song which turns out to be health

1165 Primasius 22.2-7, incorporating quotation from Gal. 6:8.
1166 Cf. Caesarius 275.15-18.
1167 Cf. exegesis of Rev. 2:7 above.
1168 Cf. (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 227.3.
1169 Acts 4:12.
1170 Gen. 2:9.
1171 Prov. 3:18.
1172 Primasius 22.14-15.
1173 Ps. 101(102):28.
1174 Isa. 66:23.
1175 (ps.-)Jerome, *Commemoratorium* 227.4; cf. Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede', p. 404.

for those who sing in their already joyous destiny.[1176] For the true cure of the nations is there, their complete redemption and their everlasting bliss.

[[22:.3] **And there shall be nothing accursed any more; but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him.]**
[22: 4] **AND THEY WILL SEE HIS FACE; …**
The vision of God is reserved for us as the reward of faith,[1177] which Philip knew was the supreme good when he said: *Lord, show us the Father, and we will be satisfied*.[1178] *For it was necessary* ***/567/*** *to teach with diligence that the saints will see and possess in reality what the living believe by faith*.[1179]

AND HIS NAME WILL BE ON THEIR FOREHEADS.
The steadfast confession of the holy Name now, in the midst of enemies, shall then redound to the glory of the victors in the [heavenly] homeland.

[22:5] **AND NIGHT WILL BE NO MORE; AND THEY WILL NOT NEED THE LIGHT OF THE LAMP, NOR THE LIGHT OF THE SUN, BECAUSE THE LORD GOD WILL ENLIGHTEN THEM; [and they shall reign for ever and ever.]**
The frailty of bodies shall need neither *the rest* [provided by] night, nor the light of fire when '*God* will be *all in all'*, who is *'the true light'* and the eternal repose of the saints. If you apply an allegorical interpretation to these words, then neither the *exhortation* of the prophets nor the proclamation *of the law – which now is said to be a lamp is a dark place –* is necessary; for when *all things are fulfilled, the perfected promise is attained in the contemplation of God*.[1180]

XXXVIII

[22:6] **AND HE SAID TO ME: THESE WORDS ARE MOST TRUSTWORTHY AND TRUE; …**
He did not suspect John of lack of trust; rather, he was commending the truth of the vision to the whole Church, in which he knew there would be people small [in faith].[1181]

1176 Primasius 22.40-44.
1177 Primasius 22.77, quoting (with acknowledgement) Augustine, *DCD* 20.29 (857.41). Bede normally names Augustine if Primasius does.
1178 John 14:8.
1179 Primasius 22.95-97.
1180 Primasius 22.99-108, including quotations from 1 Cor. 15:28 and John 1:9.
1181 Primasius 22.109-111.

AND THE LORD GOD OF THE SPIRITS OF THE PROPHETS SENT HIS ANGEL …
He says: have no doubts concerning the person of the one who delivers the warning. For God himself, who is wont to imbue the spirits of prophets with heavenly vision, sent me to show you in advance the things which shall be.

TO SHOW HIS SERVANTS THE THINGS WHICH MUST SHORTLY BE DONE.
As I said, *he taught that he had foreseen things which benefit everyone in general*.[1182] ***/569/***

[22:7] **[And behold, I come quickly.] BLESSED IS HE WHO KEEPS THE WORDS OF THE PROPHECY OF THIS BOOK.** [22.8] **AND I, JOHN, AM HE WHO HAS HEARD AND SEEN THESE THINGS.**
What is meant is: I am blessed. For the blessed Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, interpreted these verses when he refuted the error of certain heresies that had arisen on account of this little book, and he transferred the meaning of this same prophecy, purged of every obscurity of carnal understanding, to the eternal and celestial promises.[1183]

[And after I had heard and seen,] I FELL DOWN TO WORSHIP BEFORE THE FEET OF THE ANGEL WHO SHOWED ME THESE THINGS. [[22.9] **And he said to me: See that you do not do this;]**
Either [John] did a second time what he had done once, and which being forbidden to do, he dared not repeat,[1184] *or else he is admitting that in a state of extreme bewilderment on account of the vision, he desired once again to adore [the angel]*.[1185]

FOR I AM A FELLOW-SERVANT WITH YOU AND YOUR BRETHREN THE PROPHETS [and those who keep the words of the prophecy of this book. Worship God.]
Notice how frequently John is called a 'prophet' and this book a 'prophecy'. For there is much in this book which accorded with the prophets not only in

1182 Primasius 22.113.

1183 Rufinus's Latin translation of Eusebius, *HE* 7.25.6 (693.11-17); cf. Jerome, *In Is.* 740-741. Bede is referring to Dionysius's attack on the millenarian heresy of Cerinthus. Dionysius would have been a figure of interest for Bede because of his involvement in early Paschal controversies, some of which are discussed by Eusebius/Rufinus immediately before the passage referred to here. See also Introduction, pp. 43–51.

1184 Cf. Rev. 19:10.

1185 Primasius 22.127-129.

meaning, but also in words. How many verses from Isaiah, Zechariah, and the other prophets you can find here!

[22:10] **[And he says to me:] DO NOT SEAL UP THE WORDS OF THE PROPHECY OF THIS BOOK; FOR THE TIME IS AT HAND.**
As the judgement which is to come is drawing near, it is necessary that the divine precepts, judgements and promises be revealed. By observing them, the meek shall obtain their reward; by neglecting them, the defiant shall incur punishment.[1186] ***/571/***

[22:11] **HE WHO HARMS, LET HIM CONTINUE TO HARM; AND HE WHO IS FILTHY, LET HIM BE FILTHY STILL; [and he who is just, let him be justified still; and he who is holy, let him be sanctified still.]**
*Here he shows the hidden, but righteous, judgements of God, by which evil men are allowed to go on to even wors*e [crimes][1187] – that is, *to reach the ultimate iniquity so that a just judgement may result.*[1188] It is similar to this: *Either make the tree good and its fruit good; or make the tree evil, and its fruit evil.*[1189]

[[22:12] **Behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to render to every man according to his deeds.]** [22:13] **I AM ALPHA AND OMEGA, THE FIRST AND THE LAST, THE BEGINNING AND THE END.**
By Alpha he indicates the godhead of the Word, and by Omega the humanity he assumed – a beginning without an end. This is attested by frequent repetition in this book, *either to convey at frequent intervals the divinity and humanity of the single Christ, or else to prove that the whole Trinity is of a single nature, which is expressed through the prophet: 'Before me there was no God formed, and after me there shall be none'*.[1190]

[22:14] **[Blessed are those that wash their robes in the blood of the Lamb;] THAT THEY MAY HAVE A RIGHT TO THE TREE OF LIFE, …**

1186 Primasius 22.142-144.

1187 Primasius 22.134-136. The slippery slope from lesser sins into greater ones is illustrated by the reference to Rev. 22:11 in Bede's *Hom.* 2.23 (351.74-86l, trans. Hurst, p. 232), where he discusses Herod's progress from incest with Herodias to the murder of John the Baptist.

1188 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 7.9 (42.8-9).

1189 Matt. 12:33.

1190 Primasius 22.151-155, 157-158, quoting Isa. 43:10.

He promises a reward worthy of *white robes*, that is, of *an immaculate life*, namely that it may come to gaze upon the Lord who is eternal life.[1191] *Blessed are the pure of heart; for they shall see God*.[1192]

AND MAY ENTER BY THE GATES INTO THE CITY.
They who keep the commandments of the Lord who says *I am the door. By me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved; and he shall go in and go out, and shall find pastures* – those ***/573/*** pastures, to be sure, which are also promised here, namely of the tree of life – without doubt enter the Church by the doors. These are evidently the doors of righteousness, which the Psalmist asked to be opened for him.[1193] *But he that climbs up another way is a thief and a robber*.[1194] On the subject of these people, he adds here:

[22:15] **OUTSIDE ARE DOGS AND SORCERERS, AND THE UNCHASTE,** and so forth **[and murderers, and servers of idols, and every one who loves and makes a lie.]**
For all the savage ferocity of shameless men assaults the Church from the outside; but *when the master of the house shall be gone in*, and, with his saints having gone in to the marriage feast with him, *shall* have *shut the door*, then they will *begin to stand outside and knock at the door*.[1195]

[22:16] **[I, Jesus, have sent my angel, to testify to you in the churches.] I AM THE ROOT AND OFFSPRING OF DAVID, …**
Here he expressed the two-fold nature of his person, for he who was David's maker according to his godhead, *was made from the seed of David according to the flesh*.[1196] In the Gospel, the Lord put this question to the Jews, namely, how Christ can be the son of David when *David in spirit calls him his Lord*.[1197]

THE BRIGHT AND MORNING STAR.
Who, *by appearing alive after* the night of his passion, showed to the ages by word and *example* the light of resurrection and life. It was said to blessed Job concerning him: *Can you bring forth the day-star at its time?*[1198]

1191 Cf. Primasius 22.217-219.
1192 Matt. 5:8.
1193 *I am the door …*: John 10:9. *Open to me the gates of justice*: Ps. 117(118):19. Both are quoted in this context by Primasius 22.231-232.
1194 John 10:1.
1195 Luke 13:25.
1196 Rom. 1:3.
1197 Matt. 22:42-45.
1198 Gregory, *Mor.* 29.75 (1487.1-2, 10-14), quoting Job 38:32.

[22:17] **AND THE SPIRIT AND THE BRIDE SAY: COME …**
The Head and the body of the Church together exhort all the members to faith.[1199] ***/575/***

AND LET HIM WHO HEARS SAY: COME …
Whoever has perceived the inner light of faith or charity in his mind, let him summon others to this [light].

[And he who is thirsty, let him come.] AND HE THAT WILL, LET HIM TAKE THE WATER OF LIFE, FREELY.
By saying, 'And he that will, let him take' he refers to free will in such a way that grace might immediately be proclaimed in what follows – 'the water of life, freely' – evidently without pre-existing merits.[1200] For even to will is the gift of God.

[22:18] **[For I testify to every one who hears the words of the prophecy of this book:] IF ANY ONE SHALL ADD TO THESE THINGS, GOD SHALL ADD TO HIM THE PLAGUES WRITTEN IN THIS BOOK.**
[[22.19] **And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his share of the book of life, and of the holy city, and from these things that are written in this book.]**
He says this because of those who falsify, and not because of those who in a straightforward manner explain what they understand[1201] without mutilating the prophecy in any way.

[22:20] **HE THAT GIVES TESTIMONY OF THESE THINGS SAYS: SURELY, I COME QUICKLY …**
Christ himself *'gives testimony' who announces to the Church that he is coming. The Church devoutly answers, after the fashion of the Canticle of Canticles,* **AMEN. COME, LORD JESUS CHRIST,** *which every day she cries out, praying: 'Your kingdom come'.* And in the Psalm: *I will sing, and I will understand in the unspotted way, when you shall come to me*.[1202] ***/577/***

1199 Based on Tyconius 7.57 (228); cf. Caesarius 276.12, Primasius 22.248.

1200 Primasius 22.253-258.

1201 Tyconius 7.58 (228): cf. Caesarius 276.18-19; Beatus 12.5.33-34.

1202 Primasius 22.275-279, including quotation from Matt. 6:10, and part of the verse from Ps. 100(101):1-2. Note that Bede quotes the Psalm verse in full, and, unlike Primasius, identifies its source. The allusion to the Song of Solomon refers to the summons of the lover to the beloved, e.g. in 2:10, 5:1, 7:11. On Bede's treatment of this passage, see Introduction, p. 74.

[22:21] **THE GRACE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST BE WITH YOU ALL. AMEN.**

Let the Pelagians go forth, trusting in their own virtue, and deprive themselves of the grace of God.[1203] But when the Apostle Paul seeks help and says *Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* [1204] let John, mindful of his name,[1205] answer and say: *The grace of God, by Jesus Christ our Lord*.[1206] And lest the Donatists flatter themselves that they alone have the gift of God,[1207] let them hear how, when he commends the grace of God in his final farewell, so to speak,[1208] he adds: *be with you all. Amen.*

And now that this labour, so great and so perilous, has come to an end, I humbly and sincerely implore those who consider this little work of mine to be worth reading or copying, that they will also remember to commend the author to the Lord, for *I have not laboured for myself alone, but for them* as well.[1209] May I be rewarded by the offerings and prayers of those who have reaped the fruits of my efforts, and by their merits, may I see and taste of the Tree of Life, whose fragrance and whose good report I have, in some small measure, diffused upon them. Amen.

HERE ENDS, WITH THE HELP OF THE LORD, BOOK THREE OF THE COMMENTARY ON THE REVELATION OF ST JOHN BY BEDE, THE SERVANT OF CHRIST.

1203 Cf. Augustine, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum* 2.37 (127.1209-1211). The opening words *Eant Pelagii* echo a locution frequently found in Augustine and Gregory: see examples in Gryson's apparatus, p. 576.

1204 Rom. 7:24.

1205 John means 'grace (i.e. gift) of God'; see Jerome, *Lib. int.* 146.16-17, 155.19-20.

1206 Cf. Rom. 7:25.

1207 Augustine, *De praedestinatione sanctorum ad Prosperum et Hilarianum* 30, PL 44. 982.

1208 *uale ultimum*, a phrase borrowed from Gregory, *Homeliae in Evangelia* 37.9 (357.261-262).

1209 Ecclus. 24:47(34), or 33:18(17).

APPENDIX

THE *CAPITULA LECTIONUM* ON REVELATION ASCRIBED TO BEDE

This translation is based on the edition by Roger Gryson, found on pp. 137–39 of the Introduction to his critical edition of the *Commentary on Revelation*. Gryson's base text is that found in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B. 6 (n. France, *c.* 850), collated with two other Carolingian witnesses, Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 4 and Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 2. The summaries in square brackets are my own. See the table on pp. 62–64 for a concordance of the *capitula*, Bede's *periochae*, and the modern chapters and verses.

/137/

[Title]
I. In a preface, John shows that the Lord Christ will reveal himself through an angel.

[Salutation]
II. As he prepares to describe the battles of the Church, [John] prefaces this, by way of example, with the sufferings of Christ and his subsequent glory.

[Vision of 'one like the Son of Man']
III. He confirms this same dispensation of Christ, and reiterates it in symbols (*figuras*).

[Messages to the Seven Churches]
IV. After recounting what was done, or ought to be done, in the Seven Churches of Asia, he announces what will come to pass in the Church as a whole throughout the entire period of this world-age, which unfolds in seven days.

[Vision of the Throne, the Four Living Beings, and the Twenty-four Elders]
V. Though all power to judge is given to the Son, the judicial power of the Church as well is shown in the light of the radiant Gospel.

[The Lamb is given the scroll sealed with the seven seals]
VI. After the grace of the Gospel had been preached, Christ, lying down like a

lamb that he might rise up again as a lion, opened both Testaments, long sealed with seven seals – that is, with the all-embracing plenitude of the mysteries. Then he is adored as God and Lord by the Church, as is his due.

[The first five seals: the Four Horsemen and the souls beneath the altar]
VII. The victorious Church is attacked in a threefold war, namely by pagans, by false brethren, and by heretics. In the present age, her victory through the death of the body is indeed a harsh one, but in the future it is exalted through the bliss of souls.

[The sixth seal: the earthquake]
VIII. After the glory of the earlier martyrs has been displayed, the combats of the brethren who will die in the time of Antichrist are recounted in like manner.

[The sealing of the Tribes]
IX. In order to convey the downfall of Antichrist, [John] indicates how the advent of Christ destroyed the earlier kingdoms of this world.

[Acclamation of the Lamb by the multitude in white robes; the Lamb opens the seventh seal]
X. The glory of them who triumph over Antichrist, and the brief interval of repose which the Church will enjoy after he is slain, are described.

/138/

[The angel with the golden censer]
XI. Recapitulating from the beginning, [John] says that when the Lord Christ offered his body upon the altar of the Cross, the Church, ever aflame with the Holy Spirit, took up the office of preaching.

[The first four trumpets: hail and fire, the mountain thrown into the sea, the star Wormwood, the darkening of the heavenly bodies]
XII. While the Church preaches that God's judgement will come upon the earth, the Devil strives to corrupt the sea of the world-age, the rivers of Scripture, and the very stars of the Church. But the lofty voice of the teachers warns [us] to beware of yet greater dangers to come.

[The fifth angel: locusts]
XIII. The savage power of the heresies that are the precursors of Antichrist is described.

[The sixth angel: the army of the Euphrates]

XIV. The angels of Satan, who now are bound within the hearts of the wicked, and who then shall be released into open warfare, tempt some of the elect to submit to them.

[The angel with the little scroll]
XV. As he is about to recount the downfall of Antichrist, [John] recapitulates from the beginning: the Lord at his coming commends the faithfulness of the Church in preaching, and gives advance warning that everything will be consumed at the last trumpet.

[John eats the little scroll]
XVI. In the figure of John, who resumed preaching after his exile, is symbolized the Church that will preach the sweetness of [its] joys in the midst of bitter persecution.

[The two witnesses]
XVII. Trampled in the final persecution, the Church subjugates through the valiant combat of either Enoch and Elijah, or of the other martyrs drawn from both peoples, the enemies who rejoiced in their death, but who in their resurrection are destined to suffer endless punishment.

[The seventh trumpet: Acclamation of God and Christ]
XVIII. The final woe shall come when the wicked go into torment, *but the righteous into eternal life*.[1]

[The Woman clothed with the sun]
XIX. Resuming once again the order [of the narrative], he tells how the church is rendered fruitful by partaking in the mysteries of the incarnate Lord, and is protected by heavenly grace, that it may not be defeated by the Devil.

[War in heaven; the dragon pursues the Woman]
XX. The old enemy, expelled from the church and driven off by the holy angels, exerts his evil intentions ever more ardently against those who belong to him. And because he could not devour the whole Church, as he wished, he now does not rest from tempting individuals.

[The beast with ten horns and seven heads]
XXI. Antichrist, endowed with the Devil's power, pretends to suffer death like the Lamb without stain, and to prevail for the salvation of the world. After three and a half years, he shall be punished by the sword of the Lord.

1 Matt. 25:46.

[The second beast with two horns: '666']
XXII. The ministers of Antichrist follow their master in all respects, both in what they do and in what they profess.

[The Lamb and the 144,000 on Mount Zion.]
XXIII. Here is expressed the unique glory of those who, chaste in heart and in body, overcame the mark of Antichrist.

[The three angels]
XXIV. As the Last Judgement is at hand, both the ruin of the wicked and the eternal rest of the saints are foretold by preachers, all of one accord.

[The harvest and the vintage]
XXV. The power of the Judge over contumacious men and over the spirits who govern them is shown through the obedient angels.

[The song of triumph of the saints around the sea of glass and fire]
XXVI. Those who are victorious over the Beast, bathed (so to speak) in baptismal fire, worship the Judge with praise.

[The first five plagues: sores, sea turned to blood, fountains turn to blood, scorching sun, darkness]
XXVII. Holy preachers, instructed in the words of the Gospel, reveal before the world the scourges of God by which the impious are now spiritually slain, even as they attack the pious.

[The sixth plague: Euphrates dried up. The dragon, beast and false prophet spew out foul spirits. Armies assemble at Armegeddon]
XXVIII. As usual, the deeds and violent death of Antichrust are contained in the sixth position, and his end in the seventh.

[The seventh angel's vial is emptied and the angel announces 'It is done'. Lightning, thunder, earthquake and hail]
XXIX. He recapitulates from the same persecution, as he is about to describe the downfall of the impious city.

[The Harlot]
XXX. The seductive malice of the wicked, gloating in the bloody reign of the Devil, is seen raging against the saints.

/139/

[Interpretation of the Harlot and the beast with the ten horns.]
XXXI. The kingdom of the Devil that collapsed with the first persecutors, and abides in the present [persecutors], will arrive in all its fulness with the final persecutors, and then will be crushed by Christ the King.

[The fall of Babylon]
XXXII. That same impiety which he had described in the demeanour of the Harlot, stripped and burnt, he now likens to the ruins of the deserted city.

[Rejoicing at the fall of Babylon]
XXXIII. Now that the impious city has been overthrown and set ablaze, the saints exalt the judgements of God with righteous praise, and the angel forbids [John] to worship him.

[The Rider Faithful and True goes forth and defeats the beast and the false prophet]
XXXIV. The Lord Christ, purifying his Church by his passion, sends those who assail her into eternal fire, together with their leaders, Antichrist and the Devil.

[The dragon is cast into the pit for a thousand years; the reign of the saints; the dragon is released and finally defeated]
XXXV. He recapitulates from the beginning. The Lord, born in the flesh, restrained the Devil from seducing the Church. At the end, [the Devil] will be released for a brief period of time, but afterwards will be punished in eternal fire.

[The judgement of the living and the dead. The new Jerusalem descends from heaven]
XXXVI. The resurrection, the Judgement, and the end which each of the two cities deserves, are described.

[Description of the Heavenly Jerusalem]
XXXVII. Again, the Holy City is displayed, built up of living stones, washed by the river of baptism, fed and illuminated by her Lord.

[Final admonitions and blessings]
XXXVIII. John is ordered to make the revelation known at large, because the One who commands that this be written, and desires that it be observed, will shortly come as Judge.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Ambrose. *Explanatio Psalmorum XII*. Ed. M. Petschenig, 2nd edn ed. Michaela Zelzer. CSEL 64. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999.

_____. *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam.* Ed. M. Adriaen. CCSL 14. Turnhout: Brepols, 1957.

Arator. *De actibus apostolorum*. Ed. A.P. McKinlay. CSEL 72. Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1951.

Augustine. *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum*. Ed. K.-D. Daur. CCSL 49. 35–131. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985.

_____. *Contra Gaudentium.* Ed. M. Petschenig. CSEL 53. 210–274. Vienna: Tempsky, 1910.

_____. *De civitate Dei*. Ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb. CCSL 47–48. Turnhout: Brepols, 1955. Trans. R.W. Dyson, *Augustine: The City of God against the Pagans.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

_____. *De consensu evangelistarum libri IV.* Ed. F. Weihrich. CSEL 43. Vienna: Tempsky, 1904.

_____. *De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum liber.* Ed. R. Vander Plaetse and C. Beukers. CCSL 46. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.

_____. *De sancta virginitate*. Ed. J. Zycha. CSEL 41. 235–302. Vienna: Tempsky, 1900.

_____. *De trinitate*. Ed. W.J. Mountain and F. Glorie. CCSL 35. Turnhout: Brepols, 1967.

_____. *Enarrationes in Psalmos.* Ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont. CCSL 39. 3 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 1961.

_____. *Epistolae* [Part 1]. Ed. A. Goldbacher. CSEL 34. Vienna: Tempsky, 1898.

_____. *In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos*. Patrologia latina 35. 1977–2062.

_____. *Quaestiones de Exodo*. Ed. J. Fraipont. CCSL 33. Turnhout: Brepols, 1958.

_____. *Tractatus in Iohannem*. Ed. R. Willems. CCSL 36. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.

Beatus of Liébana. *Beati in Apocalypsin libri 12*. Ed. A. Sanders. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 7. Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1930.

Bede. *Bedae opera historica*. Ed. C. Plummer. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896.

_____. *De eo quod Isaias ait. PL* 94. 702–710. Trans. Arthur G. Holder, *Bede: A*

Biblical Miscellany. Translated Texts for Historians 28. 35–51. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999.

_____. *De natura rerum.* Ed. C.W. Jones. CCSL 123A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975. Trans. Calvin Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times.* Translated Texts for Historians 56. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010.

_____. *De temporibus*. Ed. C.W. Jones. CCSL 123C. Turnhout: Brepols, 1980. Trans. Calvin Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times.* Translated Texts for Historians 56. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010.

_____.*De temporum ratione.* Ed. C.W. Jones. CCSL 123B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977. Trans. Faith Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*. Translated Texts for Historians 29. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999.

_____. *Expositio Apocalypseos.* Ed. Roger Gryson. CCSL 121A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.

_____. *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum et Retractatio*. Ed. M.L.W. Laistner. Mediaeval Academy of America Publications 35. Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939. Trans. Lawrence T. Martin, *The Venerable Bede. Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1989.

_____. *Homeliae*. Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 122. Turnhout: Brepols, 1955. 1–384. Trans. Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst, *Bede the Venerable: Homilies on the Gospels*, 2 vols. Cistercian Studies Series 110–111. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1991.

_____. *In Cantica canticorum*. Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 119B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983. Trans. Arthur G. Holder. *On the Song of Songs and Selected Writings.* New York and Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2011.

_____. *In epistolas septem catholicas.* Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 121. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983. Trans. D. Hurst, *On the Seven Catholic Epistles.* Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1985.

_____. *In Ezram et Neemiam.* Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 119A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969. Trans. Scott DeGregorio, *On Ezra and Nehemiah.* Translated Texts for Historians 47. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006.

_____. *In Lucam*. Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 120. Turnhout: Brepols, 1960.

_____. *In Marcum*. Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 120. Turnhout: Brepols, 1960.

_____. *In primam partem Samuhelis.* Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 119. Turnhout: Brepols, 1962.

_____. *In Proverbia Salomonis.* Ed. D. Hurst. CCSL 119B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983.

_____. *Libri II De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis. The Art of Poetry and Rhetoric.* Ed. and trans. Calvin B. Kendall. Saarbrücken: AQ-Verlag, 1991.

____. *Libri quatuor in principium Genesis usque ad nativitatem Isaac et eiectionem Ismahelis adnotationum*. Ed. C.W. Jones. CCSL 118A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1967. Trans. Calvin B. Kendall. Translated Texts for Historians 48. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.

Cassiodorus. *Complexiones in Apocalypsi.* Ed. Roger Gryson. *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannes*. CCSL 107. 101–129. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

_____. *Expositio Psalmorum.* Ed. M. Adriaen. Corpus christianorum 97–98. Turnhout: Brepols, 1958.

_____. *Institutiones.* Ed. R.A.B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937.

Caesarius of Arles, *Expositio in Apocalypsin*. In *Opera omnia*. Ed. G. Morin. Maredsous: [Abbey], 1942.

_____. *Sermones.* Ed. G. Morin. 2nd edn. CCSL 104. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953.

De XII lapidibus. *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae.* Ed. Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge. Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 14. 164–167. Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1988.

De monogramma. Ed. Roger Gryson. *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannes*. CCSL 107. 142–157. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

Epiphanius, *De XII gemmis*. Ed. O. Gunther, in *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum*. CSEL 35.2. 743–773. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1898.

Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* trans. Rufinus. Ed. Theodore Mommsen. *Eusebius Werke* 2.1-2. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 9.1-2. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1903–1908.

Gennadius. *De viris inlustribus*. Ed. E.H. Richardson. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 14.1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896.

Gregory. *Homeliae in evangelia*. Ed. R. Étaix. CCSL 141. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.

_____. *Homeliae in Hiezechielem prophetam.* Ed. M. Adriaen. CCSL 142. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971.

_____. *Moralia in Iob.* Ed. M. Adriaen. CCSL 143, 143A, 143B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979.

_____. *Regula pastoralis*. Ed. B. Judic, F. Rommel and C. Morel. Sources chrétiennes 381–382. Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 1992.

Hilarianus, Quintus Julius. *De mundi duratione.* Ed. C. Frick. *Chronica minora* 1. 153–174. Leipzig: Teubner, 1892.

Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses.* Ed. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau. Source chrétiennes 264. Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 1979.

[Irish Anonymous. *On the Seven Catholic Epistles*] *Commentarius in Epistolas Catholicas Scotti Anonymi.* Ed. Robert E. McNally. CCSL 108B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1973.

[Isidore of Seville. *De natura rerum*] *Isidore de Seville: Traité de la nature.* Ed. Jacques Fontaine. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2002 (reprint of Bordeaux 1960 edn).

_____. *De officiis.* Ed. Christopher Lawson. CCSL 113. Turnhout: Brepols, 1989.

_____. *Etymologiae sive origines*. Ed. W.M. Lindsay. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

_____. *Liber differentiarum.* Ed. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz. CCSL 111A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

_____ [*Liber numerorum*] *Livre des nombres. Liber numerorum.* Ed. and trans. Jean-Yves Guillaumin. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2005.

Jerome. *Chronicon*, ed. Rudolf Helm. *Eusebius Werke* 7.1. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 24. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913.

_____. *Commentariorum in Danielem libri III*. Ed. F. Glorie. CCSL 75A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1964.

_____. *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri 14*. Ed. F. Glorie. CCSL 75. Turnhout: Brepols, 1964.

_____. *De uiris illustribus.* Ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Gli uomini illustri. De viris illustribus.* Florence: Nardini, 1988.

____. *Epistolae.* Ed. I. Hilberg. CSEL 54. Vienna: Tempsky, 1910.

_____. *Explanationum in Esaiam libri 18. Commentaire de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe.* Ed. R. Gryson. 5 vols. Freiburg: Herder, 1993–1999.

_____. *Hebraicae quaestiones in Genesim* Ed. Paul de Lagarde. CCSL 72. 1–56. Turnhout: Brepols, 1959**.**

_____**.** *In Psalmos homeliae*. Ed. G. Morin. CCSL 78. Turnhout: Brepols, 1958.

_____. *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*. Ed. P de Lagarde. CCSL 72. 57–161. Turnhout: Brepols, 1959.

pseudo-Jerome, *Commemoratorium*. Ed. Roger Gryson. *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*. CCSL107. 161–229. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

____. Hartung, K. *Ein Traktat zur Apokalypse des Ap. Johannes in einer Pergamenthandschrift der K. Bibliothek in Bamberg*. Bamberg: Gärtner, 1904.

____. Rapisarda, Grazia Lo Menzo. *Incerti Auctoris commentarius in Apocalypsin. Miscellanea di studi di letteratura cristiana antica* 16. Catania: Centro di studi sull'antico cristianesimo, 1967; repr. *Patrologia Latina Supplementum*, ed. A. Hamman. v. 4, 1850–1863. Paris: Garnier, 1958–1971.

Orosius, *Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII.* Ed. C. Zangemeister. CSEL 5. Vienna: Gerold, 1882.

Primasius. *Primasius episcopus Hardumentinus Commentarius in Apocalypsin.* Ed. A.W. Adams. CCSL 92. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985.

Solinus. *Collectanea rerum memorabilium.* Ed. Theodor Mommsen. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895.

Tertullian. *Scorpiace.* Ed. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa. CCSL 2. 1069–1097. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.

Tyconius. [Commentary on Revelation] *Tyconii Afri Expositio Apocalypseos. Accedunt eiusdem expositionis a quoda retratatae fragmenta Tauriensia*. Ed. Roger Gryson. CCSL 107A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011; Tyconius, *Commentaire de l'Apocalypse*. Trans. Roger Gryson. Corpus christianorum in translation 10. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

[Tyconius. Commentary on Revelation. Turin Fragments] Amelli, A. 'Tyconii Afri fragmenta commentarii in Apocalipsin'. *Spicilegium Casinense* 3.1. 263–331. Monte Cassino: Typis Archiocenobii Montis Casini, 1897.

_____. *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation*. Ed. Fr. Lo Bue and G.G. Willis. Texts and Studies n.s. 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

[Tyconius. Commentary on Revelation. Budapest Fragments]. Gryson, R., 'Fragments inédits du Commentaire de Tyconius sur l'Apocalypse'. *Revue bénédictine* 107 (1997): 189–226.

____. Mezey, L. 'Egy korai karoling kódextöred (Ticonius in Apocalypsin?)', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 92 (1976): 15–24.

_____. Mezey, L. 'Un fragment de codex de la première époque carolingienne (Ticonius in Apocalipsin?)', in *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, ed. P. Cockshaw, M.-C. Garand and P. Jodogne. Les publications de Scriptorium 8. Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1979. Vol. 1, pp. 41–50.

Tyconius. [*Liber regularum*] Ed. F.C. Burkitt. *The Rules of Tyconius*. Texts and Studies 3.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1894.

_____. Trans. with intro. by Jean-Mark Vercruysse, *Tyconius. Le livre des règles*. Sources chrétiennes 488. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2004.

Venantius Fortunatus. *Venantii … Fortunati … opera poetica*. Ed. F. Leo. MGH AA 4.1. Berlin: Weidmann, 1881.

Victorinus of Pettau. *In Apocalypsin*, rev. by Jerome. Ed. J. Haussleiter. *Victorini episcopi Petavionensis opera*. CSEL 49. Leipzig: Freytag, 1916.

_____. *Victorin de Poetovio, Sur l'Apocalypse. Suivi du Fragment chronologique de De la construction du monde*. Ed. Martine Dulaey. Sources chrétiennes 423. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997.

Weinrich, William C. (ed.), *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Vol. 12: Revelation.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Alexander, J.J.G. *Insular Manuscripts.* Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 1. London: Harvey Miller, 1978.

Andel, G.K. van. *The Christian Concept of History in the Chronicle of Sulpicius Severus*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1976.

The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages. Ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Archambault, Paul. 'The Ages of Man and the Ages of the World', *Revue des études augustiniennes* 12 (1966): 193–228.

Bauckham, R.J. 'The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian'. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976): 447–458.

Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité/The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity. Ed .Stephane Lebecq, Michel Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack. Lille: CEGES – Université Charles de Gaulle, 2005.

Bischoff, Bernhard. 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter'. *Sacris erudiri* 6 (1954): 189–279. Repr. in his *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966. 205–273.

Bonner, Gerald. *Saint Bede and the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary.* Jarrow Lecture 1966. [Jarrow: St Paul's Church, n.d.].

_____. 'Towards a Text of Tyconius', *Studia Patristica 10. Papers Presented to the Fifth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1967*. Ed. F.L. Cross. Texte und Untersuchungen 107. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970. Vol. 1, 9–13.

_____. 'Augustine and Millenarianism'. *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick.* Ed. Rowan Williams. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. 235–254.

_____. 'Bede: Scholar and Spiritual Teacher'. *Northumbria's Golden Age*. Ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999. 365–370.

_____. 'Towards a Text of Tyconius', *Papers Presented to the Fifth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1967*. Ed. F.L. Cross. 2 vols. Studia Patristica, 10–11; Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 107–108. v. 1, 9–13. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1970–72.

Bossuet, W. *Die Offenbarung Johannes. Kritisch-exegetische Kommentar über das Neue Testament* vol. 16. Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1896.

Bremmer, Rolf H., Jr. 'The Final Countdown: Apocalyptic Expectations in Anglo-Saxon Charters', *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*. Ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riano. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003. 510–514.

Bright, Pamela. *The Book of Rules of Tyconius. Its Purpose and Inner Logic.* Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 2. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988.

_____. '"The Preponderating Influence of Augustine": A Study of the Epitomes of the *Book of Rules* of the Donatist Tyconius'. *Augustine and the Bible*. Ed. Pamela Bright. The Bible through the Ages, 2. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. 109–128.

_____ and Charles Kannengiesser, eds. *A Conflict of Christian Hermeneutics in Roman Africa: Tyconius and Augustine*. Protocol of the fifty-eighth Colloquy: 16 October 1988, Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, Graduate Theological Union and University of California – Berkeley. (Berkeley: [The Center], 1989).

Brown, George Hardin. *Bede the Venerable*. Boston: Twayne, 1987.

_____. *A Companion to Bede*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009.

Burgess, Richard W. 'Hydatius and the Final Frontier: The Fall of the Roman Empire and the End of the World'. *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*. Ed. Ralph W. Mathiesen and Hagith S. Sivan. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996. 321–332.

The Cambridge History of the Bible. The West from the Fathers to the Reformation. Ed. G.W.H. Lampe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Carozzi, Claude. 'Apocalypse et temps de l'église selon Bède le Vénérable', in *L'Apocalisse nel Medioevo: atti del convegno internazionale dell'Università de Milano e della Società internazionale per lo studio del medioevo latino, Gargnano sul Garda, 18-20 maggio 2009*, ed. Rossana Guglielmetti. 115-32. Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011.

Carruthers, Mary. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Catry, P. 'Lire l'Écriture selon saint Grégoire le Grand'. *Collectanea cisterciensia* 34 (1972): 177–201.

Cazier, Pierre. 'Le *Livre des règles* de Tyconius. Sa transmission du *De doctrina christiana* aux *Sentences* d'Isidore de Seville'. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 19 (1973): 241–261.

Chazelle, Celia. 'Art and Reverence in Bede's Churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow'. *Intellektualisierung und Mystifizierung mittelalterlicher Kunst: 'Kultbild': Revision eines Begriffs*. Ed. M. Büchsel and R. Muller. Berlin: Mann, 2010. 79–98.

_____. 'Christ and the Vision of God: The Biblical Diagrams of the Codex Amiatinus'. *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché. Princeton: Department of Art and Archaeology in association with Princeton University Press, 2006. 84–111.

Christe, Yves. 'Ap. IV–VIII, 1: de Bède à Bruno de Signi'. *Études de civilisation médiévale (IXe–XIIe siècles). Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande.* Poitiers: C.É.S.C.M., 1975. 145–151.

_____. *L'Apocalypse de Jean: sens et développements des visions synthtétiques*. Paris: Picard, 1996.

_____. 'Beatus et la tradition latine des commentaires sur l'*Apocalypse*'. *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del commentario al Apocalypsis de Beato de Liébana*. Madrid: Joyas, 1978. 145–151.

_____. 'La cité de la Sagesse'. *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 31 (1988): 29–35 and figs. 1–14.

_____. 'De l'absence ou des lacunes d'Ap 15,1–20,15 dans les cycles apocalyptiques monumentaux des XIe–XIIe siècles'. *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 41. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1994. 801–835.

_____. 'Traditions littéraires et iconographiques dans l'interprétation des images apocalyptiques'. *L'Apocalypse de Jean: Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques: IIIe–XIIIe siècles*. Ed. Yves Christe. Geneva: Droz, 1979. 109–134.

Collins, Adela Yarbro. 'The Book of Revelation'. *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*. Ed. Bernard J. McGinn, John J. Collins, Stephen J. Stein. New York and London: Continuum, 2003. 195–217.

Collins, John J. 'From Prophecy to Apocalypticism: The Expectation of the End'. *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*. Ed. Bernard J. McGinn, John J. Collins, Stephen J. Stein. New York and London: Continuum, 2003. 64–88.

Congar, Yves. *L'Ecclésiologie du haut moyen âge: de Saint Grégoire le Grand à la désunion entre Byzance et Rome.* Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968.

The Continuum History of Apocalypticism. Ed. Bernard J. McGinn, John J. Collins, Stephen J. Stein. New York and London: Continuum, 2003.

Courtray, Régis. 'Nouvelles recherches sur la transmission du *De Antichristo* de Jérôme', *Sacris erudiri* 43 (2004): 33–53.

Croke, R. 'The Origins of the Christian World Chronicles'. *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*. Ed. R. Croke and Alanna M. Emmett. Sydney and Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1983. 120–121.

Cuppo Csaki, Luciana. '*Roma magistra historiae*: The Year 680 as *caput saeculi* in Cas. 641'. *Roma, magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L.E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire.* Textes et études du moyen age 10,1. Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des Instituts d'études médiévales, 1998. 121–136.

Dagens, Claude. 'La fin des temps et l'Église selon Saint Grégoire le Grand'. *Recherches de sciences religieuses* 58 (1970): 273–288.

Daley, Brian E. *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

_____. 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology'. *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*. Ed. Bernard J. McGinn, John J. Collins, Stephen J. Stein. New York and London: Continuum, 2003. 226–231.

Daniélou, Jean. 'La typologie millenariste de la semaine dans le christianisme primitif'. *Vigiliae christianae* 2 (1948): 1–16.

Darby, Peter. *Bede and the End of Time.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

Davidse, Jan. 'The Sense of History in the Works of the Venerable Bede'. *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 23 (1982): 647–695.

De Bruyne, Donatien. *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine.* Namur: Auguste Godenne, 1914.

DeGregorio, Scott. 'The Venerable Bede on Prayer and Contemplation'. *Traditio* 54 (1999): 1–39.

_____. '*Nostrorum socordiam temporum*: The Reforming Impulse of Bede's Later Exegesis'. *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002): 107–122.

_____. 'Bede's *In Ezram et Neemiam* and the Reform of the Northumbrian Church'. *Speculum* 79 (2004): 1–25.

_____. 'Bede's *In Ezram et Neemiam*: A Document in Church Reform.' *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité/The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity.* Ed Stephane Lebecq, Michel Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack. Lille: CEGES – Université Charles de Gaulle, 2005. 97–107.

_____. 'The Venerable Bede and Gregory the Great: Exegetical Connections, Spiritual Departures'. *Early Medieval Europe* 18 (2010): 43–60.

Dulaey, Martine. 'L'Apocalypse. Augustin et Tyconius'. *Saint Augustin et la Bible*. Ed. A.M. La Bonnardière. Bible de tous les temps. Paris: Beauchesne, 1986. Vol. 3, 369–396.

_____. 'Jérôme, «éditeur» du Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse de Victorin de Poetovio'. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 37 (1991): 199–236.

_____. 'Jérôme, Victorin de Poetovio et le millénarisme'. *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*. Ed Y.-M. Duval. Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1988. 83–98.

_____. 'La sixième règle de Tyconius et son résumé dans le "De doctrina christiana"'. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 35 (1989): 83–103.

Emmerson, Richard. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.

_____ and Suzanne Lewis. 'Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts containing Apocalypse Illustrations, ca. 800–1500 [Part 1]'. *Traditio* 40 (1984): 337–379; [Part 2] *Traditio* 41 (1985): 369–409; [Part 3] *Traditio* 42 (1986): 443–472.

Faerber, R. 'L'Apocalypse de Thomas en vieil-anglais'. *Apocrypha* 5 (1994): 125–129.

Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede. Ed. Gerald Bonner. London: S.P.C.K., 1976.

Förster, M. 'A New Version of the Apocalypse of Thomas in Old English'. *Anglia* 73 (1955): 6–36.

Fredriksen, Paula. 'Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity from John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo'. *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991): 151–183.

_____. 'Tyconius and Augustine on the Apocalypse'. *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Richard K. Emmerson and B. McGinn. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992. 20–37.

Fredriksen Landes, Paula. 'Tyconius and the End of the World'. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 28 (1982): 59–75.

Gautier, Alban. 'La table de Bède'. *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité/ The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity.* Ed. Stephane Lebecq, Michel Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack. 209–220. Lille: CEGES – Université Charles de Gaulle, 2005.

Gil, Juan. 'Los terrores del año 800', *Actas del simposio para el estudio de los codices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liebana.* Madrid: Joyas, 1978. 217–247.

Giliberto, Concetta. 'Stone Lore in Miscellany Manuscripts: The Old English Lapidary', *Foundations of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*. Ed. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker. Paris, Leuven, Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007. 253–278.

Gorman, Michael. 'A Critique of Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis: The Commentary on Genesis in Munich Clm 6302 (Wendepunkte 2)'. *Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (1997): 178–233.

_____. 'The Myth of Hiberno-Latin Exegesis'. *Revue bénédictine* 110 (2000): 42–85.

_____. 'The Canon of Bede's Works and the World of Pseudo-Bede'. *Revue bénédictine* 111 (2001): 399–445.

_____. 'Source Marks and Chapter Division in Bede's *Commentary on Luke*.' *Revue bénédictine* 112 (2002): 246–290.

Grümel, V. 'Du nombre des persecutions paiennes dans les anciennes chroniques'. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 2 (1956): 59–66.

Gryson, Roger. 'Les commentaires patristiques latins de l'Apocalypse [part 1]'. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 28 (1997): 305–337.

_____. 'Les commentaires patristiques latins de l'Apocalypse [part 2]'. *Revue*

théologique de Louvain 28 (1997): 484–502.

_____. 'Fragments inédits du Commentaire de Tyconius sur l'Apocalypse'. *Revue bénédictine* 107 (1997): 189–226.

Gumerlock, Francis C. *The Seven Seals of the Apocalypse: Medieval Texts in Translation.* Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University Press, 2008.

Hahn, Traugott. *Tyconius-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts*. Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche 6/2. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1991, repr. of Leipzig, 1900 edn.

Haussleiter, Johannes. 'Die Kommentare des Victorinus Tichonius und Hieronymus zur Apokalypse'. *Zeitschrift für Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte und kirchliches Leben* 7 (1886): 239–257.

_____. *Die lateinische Apokalypse der alten afrikanischen Kirche.* Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons 4, 1–8. Erlangen, Leipzig: Andr. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1891.

Heist, W.W. *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday.* East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952.

Henderson, George. *Bede and the Visual Arts*. Jarrow Lecture 1980. [Jarrow: St Paul's Church, n.d.].

_____. *Vision and Image in Early Christian England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Herren, Michael W. 'Irish Biblical Commentaries Before 800'. *Roma magistra mundi: Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L.E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire.* Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998. 391–407.

Herren, Michael W. and Shirley Ann Brown. *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002.

Hill, Joyce. 'Ælfric, Gregory and the Carolingians'. *Roma, magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L.E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire.* 409–423. Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998.

Hillgarth, J.N. *Christianity and Paganism, 350–370: The Conversion of Western Europe*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

_____. 'Eschatological and Political Concepts in the Seventh Century'. *Le septième siècle: changements et continuités. The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity*. Ed. Jacques Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth. London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1992. 212–235.

Holder, Arthur G. 'Allegory and History in Bede's Interpretation of Sacred Architecture'. *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989): 115–131.

_____. 'Bede and the New Testament'. *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*. Ed. Scott DeGregorio. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 142–169.

_____. 'Bede and the Tradition of Patristic Exegesis'. *Anglican Theological Review* 72 (1990): 399–411.

_____. 'The Feminine Christ in Bede's Biblical Commentaries'. *Bède le Vénérable*

entre tradition et postérité/The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity. Ed .Stephane Lebecq, Michel Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack. Lille: CEGES – Université Charles de Gaulle, 2005. 109–118.

Holtz, Louis. 'Bède et la tradition grammaticale latine'. *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité/The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity*. Ed. Stephane Lebecq, Michel Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack. Lille: CEGES – Université Charles de Gaulle, 2005. 9–18.

Irshai, Oded. 'Dating the Eschaton: Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Calculations in Late Antiquity'. *Apocalyptic Time*. Ed. Albert I. Baumgarten. Leiden: Brill, 2000. 113–53.

Jay, P. *L'exégèse de saint Jérôme d'après son Commentaire dur Isaïe*. Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1985.

Jones, C.W. 'Polemius Silvius, Bede, and the Names of the Months'. *Speculum* 9 (1934): 50–56.

_____. 'Some Introductory Remarks on Bede's Commentary on Genesis'. *Sacris erudiri* 19 (1969–70): 191–198.

Kamlah, W. *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie*. Historische Studien 285. Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1935.

Kelly, Joseph F.T., 'The Venerable Bede and the Irish Exegetical Tradition on the Apocalypse'. *Revue bénédictine* 92 (1982): 393–406.

_____. 'The Venerable Bede and Hiberno-Latin Exegesis'. *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*. Ed. Paul E. Szarmach. Studies in Medieval Culture 20. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986. 65–75.

Ker, N.R. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books. Supplement to the Second Edition*. Ed. Andew G. Wilson. London: Royal Historical Society, 1987.

Kinney, Dale. 'The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration'. *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages.* Ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992. 200–216.

Kitson, Peter. 'Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part I, the background; the Old English Lapidary'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978): 9–60.

_____. 'Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part II, Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* and Related Works'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983): 73–123.

Kitzinger, Ernst. 'Interlace and Icons: Form and Function in Early Insular Art'. *The Art of Migrating Ideas. Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland.* Ed. R. Michael Spearman and John Higgitt. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland and Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1993. 3–15.

Klein, Peter. 'The Apocalypse in Medieval Art'. *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages.* Ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992. 159–199.

_____. 'Un fragment illustré d'époque carolingienne du commentaire de Bède sur l'Apocalypse'. *Bulletin monumental* 170,1 (2012): 43–45.

Kugler, Robert A. 'Tyconius' *Mystic Rules* and the Rules of Augustine'. *Augustine*

and the Bible. Ed. Pamela Bright. The Bible through the Ages, 2. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. 129–148.

Kühnel, Bianca. *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art.* Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003.

Laistner, M.L.W. 'The Library of the Venerable Bede'. *Bede: His Life, Times and Writings. Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death*. Ed. A. Hamilton Thompson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935; repr. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966. 237–266.

_____. 'Source-marks in Bede Manuscripts'. *Journal of Theological Studies* 34 (1933): 350–354.

Lampe, G.W.H. 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture. 1. To Gregory the Great'. *The Cambridge History of the Bible. The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*. Ed. G.W.H. Lampe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969. 155–182.

Landes, Richard. 'Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Historiography 100–800 CE'. *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages.* Ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst and Andries Welkenhuysen. Mediaevalia Lovaniensia Series I/Studia XV. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988. 137–209.

Langgärtner, G. 'Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Caesarius von Arles'. *Theologie und Glaube* 57 (1967): 210–225.

Lapidge, Michael. 'Bede and the "Versus de die iudicii"', in *Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt*. Ed. A. Bihrer and E. Stein. Munich: Saur 2004. 103–11.

____. *Bede the Poet*. Jarrow Lecture 1993. [Jarrow: St Paul's Church, n.d.].

____.. *The Anglo-Saxon Library*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Leclercq, Jean. 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture: From Gregory the Great to Bernard'. *The Cambridge History of the Bible. The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*. Ed. G.W.H. Lampe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969. 183–197.

_____. *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*. Trans. Catharine Misrahi. New York: Fordham University Press, 1982.

Lerner, Robert E. 'The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath'. *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages.* Ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992. 51–71.

_____. 'Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought'. *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97–144.

Lobrichon, Guy. 'Stalking the Signs: The Apocalyptic Commentaries'. *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*. Ed. Richard Landes, Andrew Gow and David C. Van Meter. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. 67–79.

Lorein, G.W. 'The Antichrist in the Fathers and their Exegetical Basis'. *Sacris erudiri* 42 (2003): 5–60.

Lowe, Elias Avery. *Codices latini antiquiores*. Pt 2, 2nd ed. Ed. Virginia Brown. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

Luneau, A. *L'Histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Église: la doctrine des âges du monde.* Paris: Beauchesne, 1964.

Mackay, Thomas W. 'Augustine and Gregory the Great in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse'. *Northumbria's Golden Age*. Ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999. 396–405.

_____. 'Bede's Biblical Criticism. The Venerable Bede's Summary of Tyconius' *Liber regularum*'. *Saints, Scholars and Heroes. Studies in Medieval Culture in Honour of Charles W. Jones*. Ed. Margot H. King and Wesley M. Stevens. Collegeville, Minn.: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1979. 213–219.

_____. 'Sources and Style in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse'. *Studia Patristica* 30, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone. 54–60. Leuven: Peeters, 1997.

Manselli, R. 'L'escatologia di Gregorio Magni'. *Ricerche di storia religiosa* 1 (1954): 72–88.

Margerie, Bertrand de. *Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse. T4: L'Occident latin: de Léon de Grand à Bernard de Clairvaux.* Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990.

Markus, R. A. *Bede and the Tradition of Ecclesiastical Historiography*. Jarrow Lecture, 1975. [Jarrow: St Paul's Church, n.d.].

_____. 'Gregory and Bede: The Making of the Western Apocalyptic Tradition'. *Gregorio Magno nel XIV centenario della Morte*. Atti dei convegni Lincei 209. Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 2004. 247–256.

_____. *Gregory the Great and his World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

_____. 'Gregory the Great's *rector* and his Genesis'. *Grégoire le Grand*. Ed. Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet and Stan Pellistrandi. Paris: C.N.R.S., 1986. 137–146.

_____. '*Haec non longe sunt*: Gregory the Great on the Antichrist and the End'. *Munera amicitiae: studi di storia e cultura sulla tarda antichità offerti a Salvatore Pricoco.* Ed. Rossana Barcellona. Solverina Mannelli: Rubbettina, 2003. 255–264.

_____. 'Living within Sight of the End'. *Time in the Medieval World*. Ed. Chris Humphrey and W.M. Ormrod. York: York Medieval Press, 2001. 23–34.

_____. *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Marone, P. 'La continuità esegetica che caratterizza le opere di Ticonio ovvero l'applicazione delle Regole nel Commento all'Apocalisse'. *Studi e matriali di storia delle religioni* 67 (2001): 253–270.

Matter, E. Ann. 'The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis'. *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992. 38–50.

_____. 'Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages'. *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium.* Ed. Michael Frassetto. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. 29–40.

Mayr-Harting, Henry M.R.E. *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.

_____. *The Venerable Bede, the Rule of St Benedict, and Social Class*. Jarrow Lecture, 1976. [Jarrow: St Paul's Church, n.d.]

McCready, William D. *Miracles and the Venerable Bede*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1994.

McGinn, Bernard. *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

_____. 'The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom'. *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*. Ed. Malcolm Bull. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995. 58–89.

_____. 'Introduction: John's Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality', *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992. 3–19.

_____. 'Turning Points in Early Christian Apocalypse Exegesis'. *Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity*. Ed. Robert J. Daly. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009. 81–105.

_____. *Visions of the End.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

McNally, R.E. *The Bible in the Early Middle Age.* Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1959.

Meier, Christel. 'Zur Quellenfrage des "Himmlischen Jerusalem": ein neuer Fund'. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 104 (1975): 204–43.

Meyvaert, Paul. *Bede and Gregory the Great*. Jarrow Lecture 1964. [Jarrow: St Paul's Church, n.d.].

_____. 'Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth-Jarrow'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 63–77.

_____. 'Bede the Scholar'. *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable* Bede. Ed. Gerald Bonner. London: S.P.C.K., 1976. 40–69.

_____. 'Bede's *capitula lectionum* for the Old and New Testaments'. *Revue bénédictine* 105 (1995): 348–380.

Michelli, Perette. 'What's in the Cupboard? Ezra and Matthew Reconsidered'. *Northumbria's Golden Age*. Ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999. 345–358.

Momigliano, Arnaldo. *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

Morin, G. 'Le commentaire homélétique de S. Césaire sur l'Apocalypse'. *Revue bénédictine* 45 (1933): 43–61.

Mosshammer, Alden. *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1979.

Ó Carragáin, Éamonn. *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*. Jarrow Lecture, 1994. [Jarrow: St Paul's Church, n.d.].

_____. 'The Necessary Distance: *Imitatio Romae* and the Ruthwell Cross'. *Northumbria's Golden Age*. Ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills. Stroud: Sutton, 1999. 191–203.

O'Laughlin, Thomas. 'The Plan of the New Jerusalem in the Book of Armagh'. *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 39 (2000): 23–38.

O'Reilly, Jennifer. 'The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow'. *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*. Ed. Paul Binski and William Noel. Stroud: Sutton, 2001. 3–39.

_____. 'Islands and Idols at the Ends of the Earth: Exegesis and Conversion in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*'. *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité/The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity.* Ed. Stephane Lebecq, Michel Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack. Lille: CEGES – Université Charles de Gaulle, 2005. 119–145.

Paschoud, François. 'La doctrine chrétienne et l'idéologie impériale romaine'. *L'Apocalypse de Jean: Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques: IIIe–XIIIe siècles*. Ed. Yves Christe. Geneva: Droz, 1979. 31–72.

Pincherle, A. 'Alla ricerca di Ticonio'. *Studi storico-religiosi* 2 (1978): 355–365.

_____. 'Nuovi frammenti di Ticonio'. *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiose* 5 (1969): 756–757.

Ramsey, H.L. 'Le commentaire de l'Apocalypse par Beatus de Liebana'. *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 7 (1902): 417–447.

Ray, Roger. 'Bede, Rhetoric, and the Creation of Christian Latin Culture'. Jarrow Lecture, 1997. [Jarrow: St Paul's Church, n.d.].

_____. 'What Do We Know about Bede's Commentaries?' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 48 (1982): 1–20.

_____. 'Who did Bede Think He Was?' *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*. Ed. Scott DeGregorio. Medieval European Studies 7. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006. 11–35.

Savon, H. 'L'Antichrist dans l'oeuvre de Gregoire le Grand'. *Grégoire le Grand*. Ed. Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet and Stan Pellistrandi. Paris: C.N.R.S., 1986. 389–405.

Sheil, A.P. *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Schmidt, R. '"Aetates mundi." Die Weltalter als Gliederungprinzip der Geschichte'. *Zeitschift für Kirchengeschichte* 67 (1955–56): 288–317.

Shippey, Tom (ed.). *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer/Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1976.

Snyder, James. 'The Reconstruction of an Early Christian Cycle of Illustrations for the Book of Revelation – the Trier Apocalypse'. *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964): 146–162.

Southern, R.W. 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 3. History as Prophecy'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (1972): 159–180.

Stancliffe, Clare. *St. Martin and his Hagiographer.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

_____. 'Kings who Opted Out'. *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*. Ed. Patrick Wormald. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983. 154–176.

Stansbury, Mark. 'Source Marks in Bede's Biblical Commentaries'. *Northumbria's Golden Age*. Ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999. 383–389.

Steinhauser, Kenneth B. *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius: A History of its Reception and Influence.* European University Studies ser. 23, 301. Frankfurt, Berlin and New York: Peter Lang. 1987.

_____. 'Bemerkungen zum pseudo-hieronymianischen Commemoratorium in Apocalypsin'. *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 26 (1979): 220–242.

Szerwiniack, Olivier. 'Des recueils d'interprétations des noms hébreux chez les Irlandais et le wisigoth Théodulf'. *Scriptorium* 48 (1994): 187–258.

Thacker, Alan. *Bede and Augustine of Hippo: History and Figure in Sacred Text.* Jarrow Lecture, 2005. [Jarrow: St Paul's Church, n.d.].

_____. 'Bede and the Ordering of Understanding'. *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*. Ed. Scott DeGregorio. Medieval European Studies 7. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006. 37–63.

_____. 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel'. *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*. Ed. Stephen Baxter. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009. 129–147.

_____. 'Bede's Ideal of Reform'. *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to John Michael Wallace-Hadrill*. Ed. Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and Roger Collins. 130–153. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.

Trahern, J.B. 'Caesarius of Arles and Old English Literature: Some Contributions and Recapitulation'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1975): 105–119.

_____. 'Fatalism and the Millennium'. *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*. Ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. 161–71.

Tristram, Hildegard L.C. *Sex aetates mundi. De Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren. Untersuchungen und Texte.* Heidelberg: Winter, 1985.

Troncarelli, Fabio. 'Il consolato dell'anticristo'. *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 30 (1989): 567–92.

Vaesen, J. 'Sulpice Sévère et la fin des temps'. *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst and Andries Welkenhuysen. Mediaevalia Lovaniensia Series I/Studia XV. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988. 49–71.

Vercruysse, Jean-Marc. 'Bède lecteur de Tyconius dans l'*Expositio Apocalypseos*.' *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité/The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity.* Ed. Stephane Lebecq, Michel Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack. Lille: CEGES – Université Charles de Gaulle, 2005. 19–30.

Verhelst, Daniel. 'La préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antichrist'. *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 40 (1973): 52–103.

Vogels, H.J. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-Übersetzung*. Dusseldorf: Schwann, 1920.

Wallace-Hadrill, J.M. *Bede's Europe*. Jarrow Lecture, 1962. [Jarrow: St Paul's Church, n.d.].

Ward, Benedicta. *The Venerable Bede.* London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1990.

Watson, Andrew G. *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435–1600 in Oxford Libraries.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

West, Philip J. 'Rumination in Bede's Account of Caedmon'. *Monastic Studies* 12 (1976): 217–236.

Westgard, Joshua. 'Bede in the Carolingian Age and Beyond'. *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*. Ed. Scott DeGregorio. 210–215. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Whitelock, Dorothy. 'Bede and his Teachers and Friends'. *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable* Bede. Ed. Gerald Bonner. London: S.P.C.K., 1976. 19–39.

Williams, Megan Hale. *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Willmes, A. 'Bedas Bibelauslegung'. *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 44 (1963): 281–314.

Wormald, F. *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St Augustine.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954.

INDEX OF SOURCES AND PARALLEL PASSAGES

All references are to the chapter and verse of Revelation on which Bede is commenting, except for the Poem (i.e. the verse epigraph), the Preface and the Appendix. Where Bede fuses two or more verses in his lemma, the inclusive verses are cited (e.g. 9:7–9); where there are additional lemmata covering the remainder of the first or last verses, references are only to the single verse (e.g. 9:9). In the index of biblical citations, references to Revelation exclude the lemmata.

1. BIBLICAL CITATIONS

Genesis

2:9	22:2
3:8	1:10
3:14	12:9
4:17, 18–22	18:23–24
10:32	Preface
11:1	Preface
18:1	1:10
19:1	1:10; 19:10
19:15–28	18:4–5
19:24–25	11:8
21:10	Preface
24:2–3	19:16
49:9	4:7; 5:5
49:17	7:5–8

Exodus

3:4	3:4
7	16:18
7:17–25	11:8
8:1–7	16:14
15:23–25	8:11
24:10	21:19
28:29	21:12
28:36	7:3
33:12, 17	3:4
34:29–35	5:3

Leviticus

26:24	15:1

Numbers

20:17	21:20
21:4–9	12:6
21:22	21:20

Deuteronomy

32:4	15:3–4

Joshua

6:1–20	8:6

Judges

6:18–23	19:10

1 Kings/1 Samuel

2:1	7:5–8

3 Kings/1 Kings

3:5	1:10
7:21	3:12
10:14–15	13:18
18:30–45	11:13
22:19	4:2

2 Chronicles

3:17	3:12
9:13	13:18

Job

24:19	8:7

38:32 22:16
40:19 6:4
40:22 (41:3) Preface
41:13 (41:22) 11:7

Psalms
1:4 12:18
4:2(1) 7:5–8
6:8(7) 21:20
7:9(10) 2:1
7:12 17:17
8:1(2), 3 7:3
9b(10):2 11:10; 16:12
9b(10):8 9:19
9b(10):11 16:19
10:6 (11:5) 17:15–16
11:9 (12:8) 18:21
17:40 (18:39) 7:5–8
18(19):6–7 13:18
20(21):4 12:1
24(25):10 15:3–4
24(25):17 7:5–8
26(25):2 2:1
30:3 (31:2) 12:6
30:19 (31:18) 21:19
30:20 (31:19) 21:19
31(32):1 16:15
33:2(34:1) Preface
33.9 (34.8) 2:16–17
34(35):13 11:3
36(37):18 10:6
38(39):7 21:20
40(41):1 14:19–20
41:2 (42:1) 7:17
44:7 (45:6) 11:1
44(45):9 1:16; 7:5–8
44:14 (45:13) 11:2
44:14–15 (45:13–14) 4:8
45(46):11 21:25
50:9 (51:7) 6:2
54:7 (55:6) 12:14
54:8 (55:7) 12:14; 21:19
57:11 (58:10) 11:13; 19:21
57(58):14 19:12
65:12 (66:11) 7:16
67:4 (68:3) 11:10
67:19 (68:18) 6:2
71(72):7 12:1
72(73):18 14:8; 16:10
72(73):27 2:23
73(74):6 13:1
74(75):11(10) 2:12
75:12 (76:11) 1:13; 7:11
80(81):16 10:6
90(91):13 12:9
98(99):1 11:17–18
100(101):1–2 22:20
101(102):28 22:2
102(103):5 12:14
103(104):4 14:18
103(104):15 21:20
103(104):18 6:15–16
115(116):15 21:20
115(116):16–17 6:9
117(118):19 22:14
118(119):32 7:5–8
118(119):127 21:20
118(119):105 19:12
118(119):164 Preface
123(124):4 12:15
126(127):2–3 14:13
127(128):1–2 16:10
127(128):3, 6 7:5–8
131(132):9 19:14
136(137):1 18:21
136(137):4, 6 18:7–8
140(141):2 8:3
144(145):20 21:8
146:5 19:13
150:3 14:2

Proverbs
3:18 22:2
4:23 21:20
7:3 10:9

13:8 7:5–8
13:10 17:15–16
18:4 21:20
19:25 16:12
20:4 14:13
20:9 11:13
21:1 21:20
24:24 9:19
25:2 21:20

Ecclesiastes
1:18 7:5–8

Song of Solomon
1:4 Preface
2:10 22:20
5:1 22:20
5:10 21:19
7:11 22:20
8:3 12:1

Isaiah
5:1 *sqq.* 14:8; 14:17
5:6 11:6
9:6 7:2; 10:1
9:15 9:19
10:6 10:1
13:21–23 18:2–3
19:1 10:1
25:1 19:11
26:1 21:21
26:11 16:8
29:11–12, 18 5:2
29:18 10:2
31:9 14:3
40:6 8:7
43:10 21:6; 22:12–13
49:2 19:15
52:7 10:1
52:11 18:4–5
54:1 14:3
54:11–13 21:19
56:5 14:3
58:1 8:7
59:5–6 19:8
61:7 6:11
61:10 Preface
64:5 16:21
66:23 22:2

Jeremiah
7:13 13:8
25:11 Preface
25:27 14:10

Ezekiel
1:26 21:19
2:9–10 5:2
3:14 10:9–10
10:9–14 14:20
18:4, 20 20:5
28:18 9:17–18
33:12 14:5
35:6 14:20

Daniel
2:34 7:3
2:34–35 21:10
2:45 7:3
3:22 11:5
7:2–3 7:1
7:3 13:11
7:3–6 13:2
7:7–8 17:12
7:10 9:16
7:17 13:11
7:23 17:17
9:27 11:13
12:1 12:7
12:4 10:4
12:11 11:3; 11:13
12:12 8:1

Hosea
8:1 8:7

Amos
3:8 10:3

Zechariah
1:8 6:4
4:2–3 11:4
11:1 1:15
12:8 1:20
12:9 1:16

Malachi
2:7 1:20
4:2 16:12; 21:20
4:5 3:10

Wisdom of Solomon
2:15 10:11
5:8–9 18:9
8:1; 11:21(20) 21:15

Ecclesiasticus
2:1 7:5–8
3.22 21:20
24:47(34); 33:18(17) 22:21

2 Maccabees
7:36 6:9
9 16:11

Matthew
2:1–19 4:7
3:2 7:2; 18:1
3:7 9:5
4:8 17:3
4:17 10:8; 18:1
5:3 2:9
5:5 7:17
5:6 7:16; 19:18
5:8 22:14
5:15 21:21
5:18 5:11
6:1–6 21:19
6:8 6:10
6:10 22:20
6:30 8:7
7:15 2:25; 9:7–9; 13:11
7:19 8:7
7:24–25 18:21
7:26–27 11:13
10:7 10:8; 18:1
10:15 17:17
10:28 9:5
11:27 19:13
12:29 20:1
12:33 22:11
12:40 Preface
13:6 16:8
13:8 13:18
13:17 5:2
13:23 13:18
13:24–30 14:17
13:24–43 14:15–16
13:30 8:7
13:39 14:15
13:43 1:16; 21:20
13:44–45 21:19
13:45 21:21
13:47–48 Preface
14:22–33 8:8
16:9 11:6
16:17 8:8
16:19 11:6; 20:4
16:24 14:2
17:5 2:25
18:6 18:21
18:10 12:7
18:18 15:20
18:23 4:7
19:28 4:4
19:29 7:5–8
20:1–16 21:20
20:2 14:8
20:16 17:14
21:21 8:8
22:2 4:7

22:37 1:12; 4:3; 14:1
22:37–38, 40 21:20
22:42–45 22:16
23:25 18:23–24
23:13 11:9
23.35 17:6
24:5 13:5
24:7 6:12
24:9 11:7
24:12 14:15–16
24:14 14:6
24:21 16:18
24:22 14:15–16; 17:10
24:23 13.5
24:24 13:7
24:28 19:17
24:29 11:13
24:31 16:18
24:35 10:5–6
24:38–39 17:17
24:42–44 3:3
24:43 16:15
25:6–7 19:7
25:11 Preface
25:24 9:2
25:27 Preface
25:31 *sqq.* 4:7
25:32 11:18; 20:12
25:34 1:16
25:46 10:7; Appendix
26:29 21:20
26:41 21:25
26:52 11:5
27:51 5:5
28:18 11:6

Mark
1:15 18:1
4:22 21:18
5:1–20 20:3
8:34 14:2
10:30 7:5–8
11:23 8:8
12:30 1:12
15:38 5:5
16:20 4:5; 15:6

Luke
1:78 7:2
4:5 17:3
8:15 8:7
8:17 21:18
8:26–39 20:3
10:18 9:1–2
10:19 12:6
10:20 3:4; 14:13
10:27 1:12
11:11–12 9:5
11:51 17:6
12.4–5 21:20
12:5 1:16
12:8 11:1
12:32 21:20
12:35 1:12; 14:4
12:39 16:15
12:39–40 3:3
12:49 8:5; 19:12
13:6–9 8:7
13:25 Preface; 22:15
14:31 9:16
16:19–31 19:3
16:23–31 6:17
16:25 18:23
17:26–30 17:17
18:8 Preface
18:30 13:1
21:16 11:7
21:28 18:20
22:30 4:4
23:45 5:5
24:53 4:7

John
1:2 19:13
1:3 1:17
1:9 21:21; 22:5

1:14 1:2
1:16 21:7
1:29 13:8
3:13 19:12
3:18 19:20–21
3:34 8:5
5:35 21:19
6:33 2:16–17
6:35 7:16
7:12 8:5
7:38–39 21:20
10:1 22:14
10:3 3:4
10:9 22:14
13:25 14:4
14:2 11:18
14:6 19:11
14:8 22:4
14:27 6:4
15:20 11:7
15:22 16:2
16:20 7:5–8
16:21–22 12:2
17:3 7:10
17:6 3:13
17:22 21:11
18:28 13:12
19:37 1:16; 14:14
20:23 1:18

Acts
4:32 17:1
4:12 22:2
7:59 21:20
8:1–3 6:2
8:9–24 13:3
8:20 16:2
9:1 6:2
10:42 15:8
14:21 7:5–8; 7:14
17:1–4 3:9
18:4, 7–8, 24–28 3:9

Romans
1:3 22:16
2:29 2:9
6:23 21:6
7:24 21:20
7:24–25 22:21
8:6 8:8
8:17 3:20
8:18 7:5–8
8:24 7:17
8:32 2:26
10:10 11:8
12:1 2:18; 6:9; 14:4
12:12 7:5–8
12:20 11:5
13:14 7:5–8
14:9 20:4
15:10 7:11
15:26 7:5–8

1 Corinthians
1:24 21:15
2:2, 6 21:20
3:12–13 14:19–20
4:4 21:20
4:5 15:8
4:15 19:16
6:11 14:5
6:17 19:21
6:20 6:6
7:3 20:11
7:25 14:4
7:31 21:1
8:11 6:6
9:27 15:6
10:2 16:13
10:13 2:25; 10:3
12:2 9:3
12:3 9:4
12:8–9 21:20
12:27 9:3; 19:12
15:19 21:10
15:26 7:5–8; 12:1; 16:17

15:28 22:5
15:49 21:11
15:52 10:6

2 Corinthians
2:15 15:7
2:15–16 11:6
3:3 19:16
3:13 5:3
4:16 21:20
5:6 12:1
5:13 21:20
5:16 1:13
6:7 21:20
6:12 21:20
7:5 6:5–6
9:15 15:8
11:2 14:5; 17:1
12:9 7:5–8
13:11 21:16

Galatians
2:9 10:1
3:29 7:4; 15:6
4:5 3:12
4:9 21:20
4:19 12:2
4:30 Preface
4:24 14:2
4:27 14:3
5:24 14:2
6:8 22:1

Ephesians
2.6 12:5
4:3 1:13
4:4 4:5
4:14 21:16
4:27 14:3
5:18 14:8
6:2 3:21
6:17 19:15

Philippians
2:9 1:5
2:19 2:14
3:13 7:5–8
3:20 11:19; 21:19
4:7 19:13

Colossians
1:24 5:8
2:3 7:17
2:9 8:5
3:2 20:5

1 Thessalonians
4:16 11:12
5:2–3 8:13

2 Thessalonians
2.3 13:18
2:3–4 13:5
2:4 8:13
2:7 11:2; 13:16
2:8 8:13: 13:10; 17:6–8; 20:10
2:9 11:7; 13:14
2:9–10 13:2
2:10 15:8

1 Timothy
1:5 21:11
2:5 21:20
5:6 8:9
6:15 1:6

2 Timothy
2:5 13:10
3:1–2 8:13
3:5 9:7–9
3:8 8:13

Titus
1:15 2:9

Hebrews	
1:6	7:11
1:7	14:8
1:8	11:1
1:14	14:15
2:9	1:5
5:12	21:20
7:6	8:7
11:10	21:20
James	
1:2	7:5–8
5:11	7:5–8
1 Peter	
1:4	21:19
1:10	5:2
1:18	6:6
1:19–20	13:8
2:5	21:18
2:6	15:6
2:9	20:6
2:21	14:4
3:4	12:14
5:8	21:19
2 Peter	
2:2	8:11
2:3	15:8; 16:2
1 John	
2:4	2:16–17
3:1	2:16–17
5:21	2:23
Jude	
3	15:2
13	8:10–11
Revelation	
1:1	4:2; 10:4
1:3	8:7
1:4	21:20
1:7	14:14
1:11	1:5; 4:2; 10:4
1:17	19:10
2:9	21:8
2:19	2:18
2:23	2:1; 2:18
2:26–27	12:5
3:5	14:13
3:16	3:14
3:19	3:14
4:11	9:17
5:5	4:7
5:6	7:17
6:1–8	19:18
6:4–8	16:19
6:6	6:5–6
6:8	20:14
6:10	18:20
7:1–3	9:15
7:3	13:1
7:4	Preface
8:2	10:3
8:3	11:19
8:7	9:4
8:13	19:7
9:5	9:10
9:18	16:9
11:7	13:1
11:19	15:5
12:1	14:14
12:3	13:1
12:18	14:1
13:3	14:9
14:4	14:2
14:11	9:17
14:15	16:12
14:20	16:17; 19:15
15:2	19:12
17:1	17:6–8
17:8	20:1
18:13	19:17
18:19	18:15
19:10	22:8–9

20:7–8 16:16 21:19 4:3
20:9–10 20:14 21:24 17:18
20:14 21:4–5 21:26 1:11
21:9–10 17:18 22:10 10:4
21:10 3:1 22:16 19:10

2. CLASSICAL, PATRISTIC AND MEDIEVAL WRITERS

Ambrose
Explanatio Psalmorum XII
153.14–18 9:3

Anon.
[Anglo–Saxon lapidary glosses]
36 21:20

Commentarius in epistolas catholicas
31.126–27 1:6

De duodecim lapidibus
306 21:19
311 21:19
312 21:20
313 21:20

De monogramma
151.55–62; 152–53 13:18

Arator
De actibus apostolorum
1.147 11.17–18
2.661 21:20

Augustine
Contra Gaudentium
1.27 Preface

Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum
1.53 Preface

De doctrina christiana
3.30–42 Preface
3.34 Preface
3.42 Preface
3.43 Preface
3.44 Preface
3.45 Preface
3.46 Preface
3.47 Preface
3.47–48 Preface
3.50–51 Preface
3.52 Preface
3.53 Preface
3.55 Preface

De civitate Dei
10.21 6:11
11.30 4:4; 4:8; 13:18
11.31 4:5
13.2 2:11
15.1, 5, 8, 20 18:23–24
15.20 17:12
17.16 1:16
20.7 7:4; 20:2; 20:3
20.8 9:15; 11:7; 20:3
20.9 13:16; 14:9; 14:11; 20:4; 20:5
20.10 20:5; 20:6
20.11 20:7; 20:8
20.12 20:9; 20:10; 20:11
20.13 20:7
20.14 20.9; 20:11; 20:12
20.15 8:2; 20:13; 20:14
20.15–16 20:15
20.16 21:1
20.17 21:2; 21:4
20.21 8:8
20.23 7:1; 12:14
20.29 3:10; 22:3
22.19 1:16; 13:14
22.29 12:7; 22:4
22.30 8:1; 21:20

De consensu evangelistarum
1.6 4:7
2.13 17:12

De haeresibus
5 2:15

De praedestinatione sanctorum
30 22:21

De sancta virginitate
27 14:4

De trinitate
4.4 13:18

Enarrationes in Psalmos
2.8 2:27
7.9 2:23; 22:11
86.3 21:14
108.26 5:6

Epistolae
55 12:1

Quaestiones de Exodo
108 17:12

Sermones
51.34 17:12

Tractatus in Iohannem
36.5 4:7

Beatus
In Apocalypsin
pr. 4.3 9:7–9
pr. 4.8 6:7–8
pr. 4.23 1:15; 8:7
pr. 4.24 8:7
pr. 4.36 9:7
pr, 4.37 9:7–9
pr. 4.42 9:13
pr. 4.98 11:11; 11:12
pr. 4.103–05 11:14
pr. 4.110–11 11:18
pr. 5.1 12:1
pr. 5.9–10 12:5
pr. 5.14 12:8
pr. 5.19 13:11
pr. 5.44, 47 16:17
pr. 5.83 18:21
pr. 5.86 19:21
pr. 5.90 19:17
pr. 5.91 20:1
T. 3 4:1
T. 8.6 8:6
T. 8.7 8:7
T. 8.9 8:9
T. 8.12 8:12
T. 13.9 13:8
1.4.75–76 1:15
1.4.88 1:16
1.4.116 1:16
1.5.61 2:7
1.5.62 2:7
1.5.64 1:11
1.5.65 2:1
1.5.71–73 1:19
2.1.55 2:4–6
2.2.3 2:9
2.2.7–9 2:9
2.2.83–84 2:10
2.2.93 2:10
2.3.1 2:13
2.3.2 1:11
2.3.8–9 2:14
2.3.42 2:16–17
2.3.63 2:16–17
2.3.69 2:16–17
2.3.75 2:16–17
2.4.17 2:19–20
2.4.45–46 2:19–20
2.4.48 2:23
2.4.61 2:23
2.4.65 2:24
2.4.66 2:24
2.4.73 2:25
2.4.79 2:28
2.5.76 3:5
2.6.4 3:7
2.6.32 3:8
2.6.74 3:9

2.6.93	3:11	4.6.70	7:14
2.6.97	3:11	4.6.71	7:15; 7:16
2.6.103	3:12	4.7.2	8:1
2.6.104–06	3:13	5.1.1	8:1
2.7.3	3:15–16	5.1.5	8:3
2.7.7–8	3:15–16	5.1.6	8:3
2.7.24	3:17–18	5.2.1	8:7
2.7.25	3:19	5.2.6	8:7
2.7.29	3:21	5.3.1	8:8
3.1.3	4:1	5.3.4	8:9
3.1.3–4	4:1	5.3.5	8:9
3.2.10	4:3	5.5.4–5	8:12
3.2.29–30	4:4	5.6.10	9:2
3.2.42	4:5	5.6.14	9:3
3.3.19–21	4:6	5.6.18	9:4
3.3.22–27	4:7	5.7.1	9:7
3.4.92	5:1	5.7.4–5	9:7
3.4.98	5:3	5.7.6–7	9:7–9
3.4.102	5:5	5.7.11	9:7–9
3.4.105–06	5:6	5.8.1	9:13
3.4.113	5:7	5.8.2, 9	9:13
3.4.118	5:8	5.9.1–4	9:17
3.4.121	5:9–10	5.9.6	9:19
3.4.123	5:9–10; 5:11	5.9.7	9:19
4.1.5–7	6:4	5.9.7–9, 16	9:20
4.1.13–14	6:6	5.9.17	9:21
4.1.15	6:6	5.10.2	10:1
4.3.1	6:12	5.10.4	10:2
4.3.4	6:12	5.10.11	10:3
4.3.10	6:13	5.10.13–14, 18	10:4
4.3.11	6:14	5.10.24	10:6
4.3.13–14	6:5	5.10.27	10:9
4.3.14–15	6:14	5.10.39	11:1
4.3.18	6:15	5.11.7	11:3
4.3.23	6:16	5.11.8	11:4
4.3.42–44	Preface	5.11.10	11:4
4.4.1, 4	7:1	5.11.14	11:5
4.4.14	7:3	5.11.17–19	11:6
4.5.1	7:4	5.12.1–2	11:7
4.5.3	4:8	5.12.10–12	11:9
4.6.50	7:10	5.12.13	11:10
4.6.67–68	7:11	5.12.15	11:10
4.6.69	7:13	5.13.1, 10	11:11

5.13.11 11:12
5.13.13 11:13
5.13.15 11:13
5.13.17–20 11:14
5.14.2–3 11:16–17
5.14.4 11:18
6.1.3–4 11:19
6.2.1 12:1
6.2.9, 12–13 12:3
6.2.17, 22–24, 26–27, 28–30 12:4
6.2.32–33 12:5
6.2.37 12:6
6.2.41 12:7
6.2.44 12:8
6.2.46, 47 12:9
6.2.59 12:13
6.2.61, 62 12:14
6.2.63 12:15
6.2.64 12:16
6.2.72 12:17; 12:18
6.3.1 13:1
6.3.15–16, 17, 18–19 13:1
6.3.20 13:2
6.3.23–24, 27–28 13:3
6.3.30, 34 13:4
6.3.38–39 13:5
6.3.47 13:7
6.3.48 13:8
6.3.52 13:9
6.3.55 13:10
6.4.1–2, 13, 14 13:11
6.4.54–55 13:14
6.4.63–65 13:12
6.4.66 13:13
6.4.70 13:15
6.4.71 13:13
6.4.74, 76 13:15
6.4.78–80 13:16
6.4.95 13:17
6.8.1 14:1
6.8.8–9, 11–12 14:5
7.1.1 4:6
7.1.8, 11–12 14:8
7.1.14 14:9
7.1.15–16 14:10
7.2.1–2, 8–9, 13 14:20
7.2.16–17 14:19
7.2.17–18 14:17; 14:20
7.2.21 14:19
7.2.35–36 14:20
7.3.1, 2–3 15:1
7.3.5 15:2
7.3.16 15:3–4; 15:5
7.4.12 15:7
8.1.28, 29; 8.3.5 16:17
8.3.24 16:5–6
8.3.28 16:7
8.4.2 16:8
8.4.2–3, 4 16:9
8.4.6–9 16:11
8.5.2–4 16:10
8.6.1–2 16:12
8.6.3 16:12
8.7.3–4, 6–7, 8 16:13
8.7.9, 13, 14 16:14
8.7.30 16:15
8.7.33–34 16:16
8.8.1 16:17
8.8.10 16:19
8.8.13, 16 16:21
9.1.4 17:1
9.2.5 17:3
9.2.6–7 17:4
9.2.10–11, 13 17:6
9.2.21 17:6–8
9.2.83 17:12
9.2.86–97 17:13
9.3.2–3 17:14
9.3.4 17:15–16
9.3.8–9 17:17
10.1.4, 5 18:2–3
10.1.7 18:4–5
10.1.19 18:6
10.1.20 18:7–8

10.1.22	18:9
10.1.23, 24	18:10
10.1.26	18:11–14
10.1.30	18:16–17
10.1.32	18:17–18
10.1.33	18:18
10.1.34	18:19
10.2.2–3	18:22–23
10.2.4	18:23–24
10.2.7–8	18:23–25
10.3.2	19:1
10.3.10	19:10
11.1.5	19:14
11.1.9	19:15
11.2.1	19:17
11.2.2	19:21
11.4.5	20:1
11.4.11	20:2
11.5.1	20:4
11.5.14	20:5
11.5.15, 18–19	20:6
11.6.2	20:7
11.7.1–2	20:9
12.1.4. 7	20:12
12.1.11–12	20:13
12.2.31	21:11
12.2.50	21:13
12.5.53	21:15

Bede

Capitula lectionum in Apocalypsin

I	Preface
II	Preface
IV	Preface; 1:4
V	4:4
VI	5:6
VII	6:1; 6:7–8
IX	7:1
X	7:9; 8:1
XII	8:2
XIV	9:15
XVI	10:8
XVII	11:3
XVIII	10:7
XX	12:17
XXII	13:12
XXIV	14:13
XXV	14:14
XXVI	15:2
XXVII	16:2
XXIX	16:17
XXXI	17:10
XXXII	17:18
XXXIV	19:19–20

De eo quod Isaias ait

707	12:7
708	8:1

De Epistolis VII catholicis

257.59	15:8
339.175–340.204	8:10–11

De natura rerum

25	9:2
31	4:3

De schematibus et tropis

2.4	6:7–8
2.10	6:9; 13:9
2.12	8:1

De tabernaculo

1 (15.414–17)	6:2
1 (32.1079–90)	14:2
3 (108.578–109.633)	21:12
3 (112.752–55)	7:4
3 (114.819–23)	7:3

De templo

2 (198.263–207.603)	3:12
2 (210.715–25)	7:4

De temporibus

1	4:2

22	1:9
De temporum ratione	
5	Preface
8	4:8; 13:18
22	1:9
39	13:18
66 [*s.a.* 4049]	1:1; 1:9
69	8:1
Expositio Actuum Apostolorum	
2.3	8:4
8.14	1:1
10.11	21:2
12.2	2:15
15.22–16.25	1:12
Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum	
1.6	2:10
1.8	6:7–8
5.12	8:7
5.21	11:1
Homeliae	
1.2	7:15
1.4	1:1
1.5	1:5
1.8	1:1
1.9	1:9
1.10	7:9; 7:10; 7:14;7:15
1.13	14:2
1.18	1:1
1.21	3:20
2.10	5:8
2.12	6:11
2.21	1:9
Hymni	
10.4.1	19:13
In Cantica canticorum	
1 (191.70–92.82)	1:13
4 (324.333–34)	18:19
In Ezram et Neemiam	
2 (443–48)	21:16
2 (924)	15:8
In Lucam	
prol. (7.123–10.214)	4:7
1 (50.1216–18)	3:14
1 (99.3173–74)	Preface
2 (128.1100)	15:8
2 (132.1270–77)	7:4
2 (151.2035–152.2040)	21:14
3 (205.1525–30)	1:16
5 (305.370–82)	14:10–11
5 (325.1187–88)	14:2
6 (187.966–67)	19:13
In Marcum	
1 (1000)	15:8
1 (469.1278–81)	7:4
3 (543.42–46)	1:16
4 (617.854–55, 857–58)	14:2
In primam partem Samuhelis	
2 (2450)	2:8
3 (3070–74)	7:14
4 (1048–49)	14:2
In Proverbia Salomonis	
1 (5–6)	10:9
1 (105–10)	21:8
1 (279)	6:2
2 (10–14)	21:19
2 (92)	16:3
3 (383–84)	15:6

Libri quatuor in principium Genesis
1 (34.1027–32) 4:8
1 (39.1212–17) 20:10
2 (103.1062–63) 18:19
2 (135.2243–44) 4:3
2 (138.2365–139.2367) 7:5–8
4 (204.357) 13:18
4 (226.1146–47) 20:9

Caesarius
Expositio in Apocalypsin
211.14 1:13
211.29 1:14
211.19–20 1:14
212.5–12 1:15
212.21–22 1:15
213.2–3 1:16
214.8–10 1:16
215.10–11 1:18
215.12–14 1:20
216.1–2 1:11
216.2–4 2:1
216.4 1:11
216.14–15 2:7
216.16–17 2:1
216.18 2:1
216.31 2:9
217.2 2:10
217.7–8 2:13
217.13–14 2:16–17
217.21–23 2:19–20
217.22 2:19–20
217.24–25 2:24
217.25–26 2:25
218.2–3 2:26
218.4–5 2:27
218.15 3:7
218.21–22 3:8
218.24–25 3:12
219.5–6, 10–12 4:1
219.15–18 4:3
220.3 4:5
220.8 19:11
220.9 4:6
220.9–16 4:7
221.13–14 4:11
221.23–24 5:1
221.25 5:1
222.10–11 5:3
222.20–21 5:6
222.25–30 5:7
223.3–7 5:9
223.7–8 5:8
223.11 5:11
223.27–224.1 6:2
224.15–18 6:4
224.19–21 6:4
225.8–9 6:6
225.25–27 6:14
226.4–6, 11–16 6:5
226.15–16 6:6
226.16–18 6:6
226.21–23 6:7–8
227.8 6:12
227.12–13 6:12
227.18–20 6:13
227.21–23 6:14
227.24–28 6:14
227.30–32 6:15
228.28–29 7:10
228.30–32 7:13
229.2–5 7:14
229.7 7:15
229.17–18 8:7
229.20–23 8:3
230.1–2 8:6
230.3–4 8:7
230.7–8 8:7
230.11 8:8
230.12–13 8:9
230.13–14 8:9
230.26–231.1 8:12
231.24–25 7:15
231.3–6 8:13
232.1–2 8:6

232.22–26 8:13
233.1–8 9:1–2
233.29–31 9:7
233.32–234.2 9:7–9
234.9 9:13
234.17–19 9:13–14
235.3–5 9:19
235.12 10:1
235.21 10:3
235.22 10:3
235.24–26 10:4
236.5 10:6
236.6–12 9:1–2
236.26–27 9:7
236.27–29 9:7–9
237.4–6 9:13
237.15–17 9:19
238.7–8 10:8
238.9–10 10:9
238.11–12 10:9
238.13–15 10:9–10
238.23–24 11:1
238.25–27 11:1
239.7–8 11:3
239.11–12 11:4
239.20 11:5
239.20–22 11:5
239.25–27 11:6
239.28–32 11:7
240.10–13 11:9
240.16–17 11:10
240:17–20 11:10
240.24–25 11:11
240.28–29 11:12
241.12–16 11:13
241.17–21 11:13
241.26–27 11:19
242.4–5 12:3
242.6–8 12:3
242.11–13 12:4
242.16–18 12:4
242.18–20 12:5
242.21–25 12:6
242.25 12:7
242.32–34 12:8
243.2–5 12:9
243.7 12:10
243.23–25 12:9
243.25–27 12:8
244.1–2 12:13
244.6–7 12:14
244.12 12:15
244.13–16 12:16
244.25–27 12:17
244.28 12:18
244.30–245.1 13:1
245.2–4 13:2
245.11–13 13:3
246.1 13:7
246.4; 7 13:8
246.12, 14–16 13:11
246.25–27 13:15
246.28–30 13:16
247.13–15 13:16
248.3–5 14:1
248.9–12, 16–17 14:5
248.21 14:6
249.2–3, 4–6 14:8
249.12–14 14:17
249.20, 23–25, 25–27 14:19–20
250.4, 5–8 15:1
250.8–9 15:2
250.11 15:2–3
250.14 15:3–4
250.15 15:5
250.24–26 15:7
251.19–20 16:5–6
251.23 16.8
251.23–26 16:9
251.2–4 16:10
251.14–16 16:17
251.28–30 16:11
252.3–4 16:10
252.6–7, 9–10, 13–14 16:12

252.16–19, 20–21, 21–25 16:13
253.10–13 16:14
253.20–21 16:17
254.8–9 16:19
254.11, 12 16:21
255.22–23 16:16
256.23–24 17:3
256.26–27, 29–30 17.4
257.5, 7–8, 11–12 17:6
257.15–19, 258. 11–14 17:6–8
258.24–26 17:12
259.8–9 17:14
259.13–17, 18–20 17:15–16
259.25–27 17:17
260.6–8, 26–27 18:2–3
261.5–7 18:4–5
262.5–6 18:6
262.11–12 18:7–8
262.28–263.2, 3–5 18:10
263.8–9 18:15–16
263.10–12 18:16–17
263.14–17 18:17–18
263.22–23, 25, 27, 264.2 20:1
264.3–5 20:3
264.13–14 19:12
264.17–18 19:14
264.23–26 19:15
265.1–2 19:16
265.2–4, 4–6 19:16
265.7, 10–12 19:17
265.20–22 20:3
265.25–27 20:2
266.5–8 18:21
266.11–12, 13 18:22–23
266.16–19, 21–23 18:23–24
267.4–6 19:14
267.10–12 19:15
268.19–20 19:1
268.28–32 19:3
269.6 19:8
269.7 19:14
269.14–20 20:5
269.21, 24–27 20:6
269.24–30 20:5
269.30–270.1 20:7
270.24–27, 29–30 20:12
270.31–271.1 20:13
271.2–3 20:14
271.4–5 20:15
271.32–33 19:14
272.7–11 20:6
272.14 20:7
272.23–26 20:12
272.33–34 20:15
273.16–17 21:11
273.23–26 7:4; 21:13
273.28–29 21:14
273.30–274.1 21:15
274.4–6, 6–8, 13–15 21:18
274.13–15, 16 21:19; 21:20
274.24–26 7:4; 21:23
275.15–18 22:2
276.12 22:17
276.18–19 22:18
276.29–277.1 21:13
277.1–2 21:15
277.3–4 21:18
277.5–7 21:20
277.13–15 21:23

Sermones
167.5 3:5
206.2 3:5

Cassiodorus
Complexiones in Apocalypsi
5.11–14 2:13

Expositio Psalmorum
51 7:14
118.127 21:20

Cyprian
[Letter]
56.2.2 9:6

Eusebius
Historia ecclesiastica tr. Rufinus
3.29.1–4 2:15
3.36.12 18:21
7.25.6 22:7–8

Gennadius
De viris inlustribus
18 2:11

Gregory
Dialogi
4.3, 4.45 2:11
4.26 6:11

Homeliae in Evangelia
2.40 14:10–11
8.2 19:10
10.2 8:8
10.6 2:8
24.6 19:9
34.9 12:7
35.2 14:18
37.9 22:21

Homeliae in Hiezechielem prophetam
1.7.10 4:4
1.7.20 4:2
1.9.21 9:10
1.12.9 11:13
2.4.2 8:1
2.5.11 6:2
2.10.22 8:4
2.40.7–8 14:11

Moralia in Iob
praef. 20 6:11
2.2 1:10
2.7.10 5:11
2.11 6:10; 6:11
2.15 12:10
2.20 4:2
2.49 21:16
2.81 16:15
3.49 4:4
4.5 10:6
12.64 4:4
14.23.27 11:13
18.75 21:20
19.20 4:8
24.16 20:12
26.53 3:21
27.29 19:10
29.75 22:16
32.23 17:10
32.24 13:14
33.21 14:14
33.27 Preface
33.30, 31 20:2
33.59 13:11
34.8 9:3
34.25 16:8
34.26 15:6
34.33 11:7
35.25 6:11
35.42 4:8

Regula pastoralis
3:11 8:8
3.28 14:3

Isidore of Seville
De natura rerum
7.1 12:14

De officiis
1.13.1–2 19:4

Etymologiae
3.5.11 4:8
6.19.20 19:4
8.11.18–19 20:2

12.2.6 14:11
12.2.17 21:19
16.7.1 4:3
16.7.1–2 21:19
16.7.5, 7 21:20
16.7.8 21:19
16.8.3 21:20
16.8.4 21:19; 21:20
16.9.1 21:20
16.9.3 21:20
16.13.1 4:6
16.14.5 21:19
16.15.2 21:20

Liber differentiarum
2.7.18 19:13

Liber numerorum
7.28 4:8
12.61 17:12

Jerome
Adversus Jovianum
1.26 1:1

Chronicon
192.1–4 1:9

Commentariolus in Psalmos
47 21:20

Commentariorum in Danielem libri III
2.7.2–3 13:1
2.7.3 13:11
2.7.4, 6 13:2
2.7.7–8 17:12
2.7.8 13:18
2.7.10 14:18
2.7.25 12:14; 13:7
3.10.6a 21:20
4.11.25–26, 27–28a 17:12
4.12.7 11:3
4.12.12 8:1

Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri 14
11 (526.1509–10) 20:7

De viris illustribus
9.6 1:9
16.9 18:21

Epistolae
37.2 21:20

Explanationum in Esaiam libri 18
1.63 21:10
7.51 15:6
15.7 21:19
10.11 1:15

Hebraicae quaestiones in Genesim
53.13–54.18 14:8

In Psalmos homeliae
56 19:3

Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum
142.4 11:8
143.28–29 11:8
146.16–17 22:21
151.14 11:8
151.21 11:8
156.25 11:8
159.10 3:14
159.11–13 16:16
159.14–15 7:5–8
160.2 7:5–8
160.3 7:5–8
160.5–6 7:5–8
160.6 11:8
160.16 20:2
160.17 2:1
160.19 7:5–8; 20:7
160.20 2:19–20
160.23 3:14

160.26 7:5–8
160.27–28 20:7

Vita Pauli
2 9:6

(ps.)-Jerome
Commemoratorium
201.84–85 1:14
203.6–7 3:12
211.14–15, 17–18 7:5–8
212.24–25 7:13
213.19–214.20 8:8
214.5–6 9:3
215.7–8 9:5
222.5–6 15:6
226.16–17 21:11
226.17–18 21:12
227.3, 4 22:2

Origen
In Genesim
2.6 21:16

Orosius
Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII
7.27 2:10

Pliny
Historia naturalis
7.2.10–11 21:19
33.34.102–04 3:17–19
37.9.23 4:6

Primasius
Commentarius in Apocalypsin
prol.18–21 1:9
1.6–13 1:1
1.11–13 1:12
1.23–25 1:9
1.26–29 1:1
1.31–33 10:8
1.34–37 1:3
1.44–45 1:4
1.44–51 1:12
1.72–74 1:5
1.90–91 1:7
1.94–97 1:7
1.98–99 1:7
1.109–10,113–14 1:9
1.126 1:11
1.135–36 2:1
1.180–81 1:13
1.201–02 1:13
1.207–08 1:14
1.208–11 1:13
1.212–13 1:13
1.220–23 1:13
1.226–27 1:14
1.228–29 1:14
1.237–38 1:14
1.240–42, 245–47 1:15
1.247–50 1:15
1.252–53 1:15
1.257–60 1:16
1.278–79 1:16
1.296–97 1:17
1.312–13 1:18
1.324–25 1:19
2.11–12 2:7
2.13–15 2:1
2.21–22 1:19
2.25–26 2:1
2.27 2:1
2.61–62 2:4–6
2.62–63 2:7
2.67–70 2:7
2.73–74 2:9
2.80–82 2:9
2.90–92 2:10
2.93–94 2:10
2.151–57 2:12
2:154–55 2:13
2.156–58 1:11
2.160–61 2:13
2.166–67, 169 2:14

2.178	2:16–17	4.8–10	4:2
2.192	2:16–17	4.32–33	4:3
2.197–98	2:16–17	4.35–40	4:3
2.199–200	2:16–17	4.47–48	4:4
2.202–03	2:16–17	4.55–57	4:4
2.229–32	2:19–20	4.58–59	4:8
2.260–67	2:19–20	4.58–60	4:4
2.283–89	2:23	4.63–65	4:5
2.295–96	2:24	4.75–78	4:5
2.296–98	2:24	4.81–83	4:6
2.306–07, 309–10	2:26	4.139–46	4:6
2.310–11	2:27	4.161–62	4:7
2.312–15	2:28	4.166–99	4:7
3.32–34	3:7	4.171–72	4:7
3.33–34	3:5	4.174	4:7
3.38–39	3:7	4.173–78, 188–91	4:7
3.42–45	3:8	4.224–25	4:8
3.49–50	3:8	4.229–34	4:8
3.55–59	3:9	4.234–35	4:8
3.66–67	3:14	4.241–42	4:8
3.68–72	3:10	4.249–54	4:9–10
3.78	3:11	4.260–61	4:11
3.79–81	3:11	5.4–6	5:1
3.82	3:11	5.19–20	5:1
3.90–92	3:12	5.486	5:2
3.100	3:12	5.490–91, 492–98	6:1
3.105–09	3:13	5.498–514	5:3
3.115–17, 121–23	3:14	5.524–26	5:5
3.128–29	1:8	5.526–27	5:6
3.143–44	3:15–16	5.538–40, 543–45	5:6
3.150–52	3:17–18	5.548–49, 562–63	5:6
3.157	3:17–18	5.574–79	5:7
3.168–69	3:17–18	5.587–92	5:8
3.170	3:14	5.579–81	6:2
3.171–73	3:19	5.628–30	5:9
3.174	3:14	5.630–31	5:9–10
3.174–80	3:20	5.632–33	5:9–10
3.180–81	3:21	5.646–50	5:11
3.186–87	3:22	5.579–81	6:2
3.189–91	4:1	6.11–17	1:1
3.274–76	2:23	6.18–21	1:9
4.5–6	4:1	6.56–57	6:1
4.6–9	4:1	6.62–64	6:2

6.71–75	6:3	7.349–63	7:5–8
6.78–81	6:4	7.451–54	7:9
6.91–92, 95–99	6:6	7.459–62	7:9
6.114	6:6	7.479–85	7:10
6.122–39	6:7–8	7.495–98	7:11
6.176–79	6:9	7.502–04	7:11
6.187	6:9	7.506–07	7:11
6.195–99	6:10	7.509–13	7:12
6.204–08	6:11	7.540–42	7:13
6.210–12	6:10	7.546–47	7:14
6.214–15	6:12	7.575–76	7:16
6.223–25	6:12	7.585–89	7:17
6.241–44	6:13	7.598–600	7:17
6.249–56	6:14	8.2–5	8:2
6.261–66	6:14	8.4–6	8:7
6.267–70	6:15	8.9–12	8:3
6.269–71	6:14	8.13	8:3
6.280–85	6:15–16	8.20–23	8:3
6.298–99	6:16	8.24–26	8:3
6.299–307	Preface	8.33–36	8:5
7.5–6, 15–16, 9–12	7:1	8.39–40	8:5
7.20	7:2	8.73–75	8:6
7.25–26	7:2	8.82–84	8:7
7.31–33	1:1	8.84–90	8:7
7.34–35	7:3	8.88–89	8:7
7.54–58	7:4	8.103–04	8:8
7.72–75	7:5–8	8.107	8:8
7.75–78	7:5–8	8.114–16	8:9
7.83–84	7:5–8	8.116–18	8:9
7.85–86	7:5–8	8.123–26	8:10–11
7.119–21	7:5–8	8.132–33	8:10–11
7.192–93	7:5–8	8.144–47, 151–52	8:12
7.250–52	7:5–8	8.172–74, 176–78	8:12
7.255–56, 258–59	7:5–8	8.183–85, 189–91	8:13
7.258–59	7:5–8	9.14	9:3
7.261–63, 265–67	7:5–8	9.28–30	9:3
7.267–68, 271	7:5–8	9.34–35	9:3
7.276–77	7:5–8	9.51	9:3
7.278–79	7:5–8	9.51–53	9:2
7.280–81	7:5–8	9.60–62	9:4
7.284	7:5–8	9.85–88	9:5
7.288	7:5–8	9.90–92	9:5
7.288–322	7:5–8	9.113–16	9:5

9.114	9:5
9.126–27	9:7
9.128–31	9:7
9.136–37	9:7–9
9.145–52	9:7–9
9.172–74	9:10
9.178–79	9:10–11
9.188–89	9:13
9.199–203, 220	9:13–14
9.246	9:16
9.251–53	9:16
9.291–94	9:17
9.303–04	9:17–18
9.308–09	9:19
9.311–12	9:19
9.313–14	9:17–18
9.316–17	9:19
9.318	9:20
9.327–30	9:21
10.3–4	10:1
10.7	10:1
10.12–13, 17–20, 22–23	10:1
10.25–27, 30–31	10:2
10.31–35, 37–38	10:3
10.41–43	10:3
10.51–53, 55–57	10:4
10.67–68	10:6
10.70	10:6
10.75–77	10:8
10.86–87	10:9
10.87–88	10:9
10.110–14	10:11
10.116–20	11:1
11.13, 15, 18–19	11:2
11.17–20	11:2
11.53–54	11:4
11.62–63	11:5
11.64–65	11:5
11.68–70	11:6
11.72–73	11:6
11.75–76	11:6
11.81–82	11:6
11.87–89	11:7
11.90	7:5–8
11.92–94	11:7
11.105–10	11:9
11.113–16	11:10
11.157–59	11:13
11.169–70	11:13
11.174	11:13
11.185–86	11:13
11.186–91	11:13
11.195–96	11:13
11.205	11:11
11.210–12	11:13
11.213–19	11:13
11.220–22	11:13
11.222–24	7:9
11.222–35	11:14
11.256–59	11:16–17
11.263–64	11:18
11.275, 265–66, 302–05	11:19
12.1–4	12:1
12.9–11, 15–16, 27–29	12:1
12.31–34	12:2
12.35	12:3
12.37–38	12:3
12.43–45	12:4
12.47–51	12:4
12.61–63, 66–69	12:5
12.81–89, 96, 101–03	12:6
12.107, 111–14, 118–20, 124–27, 130–33	12:7
12.148–50	12:9
12.152–53, 157–60, 164–65	12:10
12.180–83, 185–86	12:12
12.195–97	12:13
12.199–203, 204–06, 207–14, 217–18	12:14
12.224–27	12:15

12.229–34, 236–39 12:16
12.243 12:17
13.5–7 12:1
13.2–3, 7–8 13:1
13.18–20, 21–23 13:2
13.25–27, 33–35, 36–39 13:3
13.66–67, 82 13:7
13.93 13:8
13.94–99 13:9
13.99–101, 108–09 13:10
13.116–19 13:11
13.147–48 13:12
13.152–57 13:14
13.188–93 13:13
13.231 13:18
13.238–39 13:16
13.241–46, 249–51 13:17
13.265–70, 275–80, 285–87 13:18
14.3–7, 12–13, 13–18 14:1
14.87–88, 98–103 14:4
14.142–43 14:3
14.153–54, 166–67 14:6
14.175–83, 184–97 14:8
14.220–22 14:13
14.242–43 14:14
12.248–49 14:5
14.269–73 14:19
14.280–81, 282–83 285–88, 290–91 291–94 14:19–20
15.2–4, 5 15:1
15.7–9, 15 15:2
15.19–21 15:2–3
15.35 15:3–4
15.61, 65 15:6
15.74–80 15:7
15.85–87, 93 15:8
16.3–6 16:1
16.13–14 16:8
16.85 16:5–6
16.129–30 16:8
16.132–34 16:10
16.148–49, 148–53 16:12
16.162–68, 172–73 16:13
16.197–202, 203–05, 206–07, 209–10 16:14
16.220–22 16:16
16.225 16:17
16.227–31 16:18
16.226–31, 240, 253–54 16:19
16.245–46 16:20
16.261–62, 264–69 16:21
17.7, 11–12, 14 17:1
17.15 17:2
17.20–21, 24–25, 29, 47–48 17:3
17.35–37 17:12
17.112–13, 114–17 118–20 17:4
17.131–36 17:6–8
17.168–69 17:9
17.206–07 17:12
17.211–13 17:13
17.216–19 17:14
17.227–30 17:15–16
17.242–44 17:17
18.49–50 18:2–3
18.74–75 18:6–7
18.109, 112–13 18:11–14
18.114–15 18:10
18.110–12, 115–17 18:9
18.125–32 18:11–14
18.142–43 18:19
18.174–75 18:21
18.186–87 18:21
18.190–94 18:22
18.201–02 18:23
19.6–12 18:23
19.13–14 19:3
19.18–20 19:3
19.22 19:4
19.24–26 19:5

19.51–53 19:7
19.63–70, 71–73 19:10
19.90–91, 93–95, 96–97 19:12
19.145–46 19:13
19.164, 166–67 19:14
19.188, 191–96, 197–98 19:16
19.202, 206–09 19:17
19.226–27 19:20–21
19.241–43, 248–49 19:18
19.250–53 19:21
20.4–8 20:1
20.14–16, 21–24 20:2
20.35–38, 53–55 20:3
20.74–79 20:2
20.79–86 20:3
20.92–96, 99–101, 104–05, 112–17, 119, 121, 136–39 20:4
20.147–50 20:5
20.169–72, 176–78, 183–85 20:7
20.187–96 20:8
20.197–200 20:9
20.240–43 20:7
20.249 20:9
20.252–58 20:11
20.261–64 20:12
20.276–78, 280–81, 288–93 20:13
20.304–07 20:14
20.310–14 20:15
21.2–9, 11–19 21:1
21.26–28 21:2
21.33–36, 44–46 21:5–6
21.46–49 21:6
21.50–51, 53–54 21:6–7
21.59–61 21:3
21.87–88 21:6–7
21.88–89 21:10–11
21.102–03, 105–08, 112–14 21:12
21.143–46, 168–75 21:14
21.192–98 21:15
21.201–04, 213–15 21:16
21.215–17 21:17
21.219–21, 231–32, 237–39, 243–44, 244–46 21:18
21.253–54, 256–58, 268–72 21:19
21.273–76, 277–83, 287–88, 291–92 21:21
21.296–97, 299–301 21:22
21.321–23, 325–26, 328 21:24
21.331–32, 336–39 21:25
21.342–43 21:26
21.345–47 21:27
22.2–7 22:1
22.14–15, 40–44 22:2
22.77, 95–97 22:4
22.98–108 22:5
22.109–11, 113 22:6
22.127–29 22:8–9
22.134–36 22:11
22.142–44 22:10
22.151–55, 157–58 22:12–13
22.217–19 22:14
22.231–32 22:14
22.248, 253–58 22:17
22.275–79 22:20

Solinus
Collectanea rerum memorabilium
15.22, 23 21:19
30.32–33 21:20
52.59–60 21:19

Tertullian
Scorpiace
12.7 2:13

Tyconius

Expositio Apocalypseos

1.5	1:15
1.7	1:16
1.8	1:16
1.10	1:18
1.11	1:11; 1:19; 1:20; 2:1; 2:7
1.12	2:1
1.18, 19	2:9
1.21	2:10
1.22	2:13
1.23	1:11; 2:14
1.25	2:16–17
1.26	2:16–17
1.27	2:19–20; 2:23
1.28	2:23
1.30	2:24
1.31	2:25
1.32	2:26
1.33	2:28
1.36	3:5
1.37	3:7
1.39	3:8
1.40	3:9
1.42	3:11
1.44	3:12; 3:13
1.45	3:15–16; 3:17–18
1.46	3:17–18
1.47	3:19
1.49	3:21
2.1, 2	4:1
2.5	4:4
2.8	4:6
2.10	4:7
2.13	4:11
2.15	5:1
2.16	5:1
2.18	5:3
2.21	5:5
2.22	5:6
2.24	5:7
2.25	5:9–10
2.26	5:11
2.32	6:2
2.33	6:4
2.34	6:5; 6:6
2.36	6:9
2.37	6:7–8; 6:12
2.38	6:13
2.39, 40	6:14
2.41	6:15
2.43	6:16
2.44	7:1
2.47	7:3
2.48	7:4
2.49	7:10; 7:11
2.51	7:13; 7:14
2.52	7:15
2.53	7:16
2.58	8:1
3.1	8:7
3.2	8:3
3.3	8:3
3.4	8:3
3.8	8:6
3.9, 10	8:7
3.13	8:9
3.14	8:9
3.17	8:12
3.18	8:13
3.20	9:1–2
3.23	9:4
3.25	9:5
3.29	9:7
3.30	9:7
3.31	9:7–9
3:37	9:13
3.38	9:13–14
3.40	9:16
3.44	9:17–18
3.46, 47	9:19
3.48	9:20
3.49	9:21
3.50, 51	10.1
3.53	10:2

3.54, 55
3.56
3.59
3.61
3.62
3.65
3.66
3.67
3.68
3.69, 70
3.74
3.75, 76
3.77
3.78, 79
3.81, 82
3.83
3.84
4.1
4.4
4.5, 6, 7
4.9, 10
4.11, 12
4.13, 14
4.15
4.17
4.18
4.19
4.20
4.21
4.22
4.23
4.24
4.25
4.26
4.27
4.29
4.30
4.32
4.33, 35
4.37
4.38, 39
4.41
4.42
10:3
10:4
10:8; 10:9; 10:9–10
11:1
11:1; 11:2
11:3
11:4
11:5
11:6
11:7
11:9
11:10
11:11
11:12
11:13
11:14
11:16–17; 11:18
11:18
11:19
12:1
12:3
12:4
12:5
12:5; 12:6
12:8
12:9
12:10
12:13
12:14
12:15; 12:16
12:17
12:18
13:1
13:1; 13:2
13:2
13:3; 13:4
13:5
13:7
13:8
13:10
13:11
13:12
13:14
4.43
4.44
4.45
4.47
4.49
5.2
5.3, 4
5.5
5.9, 12, 15
5.17
5.19–21
5.22
5.23
5.24
5.25
5.27
5.29
5:30, 31
5.31
5.32
5.34
5.35
5.37
5.38
5.39, 40
5.41, 42
5.43
5.43–44
5.44
5.45
5.46
5.47
5.48
6.1
6.4
6.5–6
6.7
6.8
6.14
6:15
6.16
6.17, 19, 20
6.20
6.21
13:15
13:16
13:17
14:1
14:5
14:6
14:8
14:9; 14:10
14:20
14:17; 14:19; 14.20
14:19–20
15:1
15:2
15:2–3; 15.3–4
15:5
15:7
16:1
16:17
16:5–6
16:7
16:8; 16:9
16:11
16:10
16:11; 16:12
16:12
16:13
16:14
16:15
16:16
16:17
16:18
16:19
16:21
17:1
17:3
17:4
17:6
17:6–8
17:12
17:13
17:14
17:15–16
17:17
17:18

6.22 18:2
6.24 18:3
6.25 18:4–5
6.26 18:6
6.27 18:7–8
6.29 18:9
6.30, 31 18:10
6.32 18:11–14
6.34 18:16–17
6.35 18:17–18
6.36 18:18
6.38 18:21; 18:22–23
6.39 18:23–24
6.40 19:1
6.41 19:3
6.43 19:14
6.44 19:10
7.4, 5 19:14
7.6 19:15
7.7 19:16
7.8 19:17
7.12 19:21
7.13 20:1
7.15 20:1; 20:2
7.16, 17 20:3
7.19 20:4
7.20 20:5
7.21 20:6
7.22 20:6
7.23 20:7
7.24 20:7
7.25 20.9
7.27, 28 20:12
7.29 20:13
7.35 21:11
7.37 21:13
7.39 21:15
7.40 21:18
7.41 21:19
7.57, 58 22:17

Expositio Apocalypseos, Budapest Fragments
Ira1–2; Irb8–10 6:6
IIra13–20 6:7–8
IIrb21–va11 6:5
IIIva9–vb16 6:9
IIIvb13–14 6:12

Expositio Apocalypseos, Turin Fragments
1, 12, 13–14 2:19–20
15, 20, 22 2:23
29 2:24
31 2:24
35 2:25
37, 39 2:26
40 2:28
52 3:5
58, 60–61 3:7
64 3:8
65 3:9
78, 82 3:11
92 3:12
94–95 3:13
100 3:15–16
103, 105 3:17–18
107 3:19
110 3:21
114, 116 4:1
130 8:1
131 8:2; 8:7
133–34 8:3
138–39, 140–41 8:3
148 8:6
150, 152–54 8:7
160 8:2; 8:8
161, 162 8:9
167 8:10–11
170, 173–74 8:12
177 8:13
181–84 9:1–2
188–89 9:2
191 9:3; 9:4
193 9:4
201 9:5
214 9:7
218 9:7–9

227 9:19
241–42 9:13–14
251 9:16
257, 263–64 9:17
266 9:17–18
267 9:17
271, 273 9:19
274, 276 9:20
280–81 9:21
284, 288 10:1
293 10:2
295–96, 298 10:3
302–05, 307 10:4
309 10:6
313 10:8
315 10:9
317 10:9
319 10:9–10
325, 326 11:1
328–29 11:2
338–39 11:3
344, 346–47 11:4
351 11:5
357–59 11:6
364–65, 367–69 11:7
385–87 11:9
389 11:10
390 11:9
392 11:10
396 11:11
398 11:12
403 11:11
405 11:12
411–12, 416–17 11:13
420–22 11:14
428–29 11:16–17
431, 438–39 11:19
441, 444, 449 12:1
452–53, 456–57 12:3
463, 464–66 12:4
476–77, 479, 481 12:5
486 12:6

Liber regularum
1 (1–8) Preface
2 (8–11) Preface
2 (11.2–3) 1:11
3 (11–13) Preface
4 (31–54) Preface
4 (43.5–9) 18:23–24
5 (55–56) Preface
5 (59.24) 1:11
5 (60.6–10) 2:10
6 (66–70) Preface
7 (70–85) Preface
7 (71.28–29) 2:28
7 (84.31–85.4) 18:4–5

Venantius Fortunatus
Carmina
8.3 2:9

Victorinus/Jerome
1.1 1:7
1.2 1:5; 1:13; 1:14
1.4 1:13
1.5 1:15
1.7 1:11
3.2 3:12
3.3 3:18
4.2 4:3
4.4 4:4; 4:8
5.3 5:8
6.5 6:12
10.1 10:1
10.3 10:11
11.1 11:1
12.2 12:3
13/17.1 12:4
13/17.2; 3 13:18
14.4 14:19–20
15 15:1

Virgil
Aeneid
1.147, 156 Poem

GENERAL INDEX

Acca, bishop of Hexham 26–27; 40–42; 50
Adhémar of Chabannes 66
Ambrose 11
Ambrosius Autpertus 21
Andrew of Caesarea 17
Anthemius 205–206 (n. 669)
Antichrist 8–10; 12–13; 15; 17; 77–78; 80–81; 157 (n. 332); 159 (n. 347); 193 (n. 581); 233 (n. 857); 234 (n. 861, 862)
Antiochus IV Epiphanes 225 (n. 794)
Antipas of Pergamum 69
Apocalypse (book) *see* Revelation
apocalypse (genre) 5
Apocalypse of Thomas 12 (n. 21)
apocalypticism 11–13; 51–57
Apringius of Beja 18–19
Arator 25
Arianism 56; 57 (n. 147); 144 (n. 240); 265 (n. 1059)
Augustine 16–17
  Bede's use of 4; 25; 32–33; 67–73; 77

Bade, Josse (Jodocus Badius Ascensius) 92–93
Beast (Rev. 13:18)
  number of (666) 8; 25; 52; 81; 205 (n. 667, 669); 206 (n. 674)
Beatus of Liébana 14; 29; 51
Bede
  eschatological thought 39–40; 52–57; 73–85; 167 (n. 396)
  and heresy 46–49; 55–57; 282 (n. 1183)
  and kings 273 (n. 1122)
  and reform 82–85
  source-marks 26; 28
  and world-ages 39–51
  works:
    Collected Excerpts from Augustine on the Pauline Epistles 25
    Commentary on Acts 24; 40–42
    Commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah 33; 221 (n. 764); 266 (n. 1060)
    Commentary on Genesis 44 (n. 117); 154 (n. 317); 206 (n. 671); 241 (n. 904); 257 (n. 1012)
    Commentary on Luke 42; 52; 80; 135 (n. 181); 105 (n. 280); 208 (n. 684); 221 (n. 764); 248 (n. 949)
    Commentary on Mark 80; 105 (n. 280); 207 (n. 681); 221 (n. 764)
    Commentary on Proverbs 141 (n. 226); 262 (n. 1039); 270 (n. 1098)
    Commentary on Revelation capitula lectionum 61–66
      date of composition 39–51
      editions and translations 92–94
      exegetical method 23–28;

38–39
historical context 51–57
Irish influences 21; 27; 34
manuscripts 24; 66; 86–92
periochae 59–64
preface 59–73
reception 4; 86–94
scholarship on 1–2 (n.1)
sources 22–37
structure and style 23–28; 58–85
text of Bible 38–39; 94
textual transmission 24
verse epigraph 58–59
Commentary on the First Part of the Books of Samuel 52; 80; 157 (n. 332); 208 (n. 684); 221 (n. 764)
Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles 40; 42–43; 45; 221 (n. 764)
Commentary on the Song of Songs 27
'Death Song' 84
Ecclesiastical History of the English People 52–54; 56; 83–84; 124 (n. 109); 144 (n. 240); 163 (n. 367); 180 (n. 487); 273 (n. 1122)
Eight Questions 36
History of the Abbots 34–37
Homilies 145 (n. 252); 155 (n. 322); 157 (n. 333, 334); 193 (n. 581); 208 (n. 690)
Hymns 248 (n. 949)
Letter to Ecgbert 52; 84
Letter to Plegwin 17; 40; 46–51; 55
On Figures and Tropes 25; 143 (n. 239); 144–145 (n. 246); 200 (n. 636)
On Judgement Day 52; 84; 132 (n. 159)
On the Nature of Things 25; 43–44; 50; 132 (n. 159); 168 (n. 404); 268 (n. 1080)
On the Tabernacle 36; 54; 141 (n. 222); 144 (n. 245); 150 (n. 275, 280); 208 (n. 690)
On the Temple 36; 54; 128 (n. 132); 144 (n. 245); 255 (n. 1000)
On Times 17; 40; 43–46; 207 (n. 681)
On What Isaiah Says 159 (n. 347); 193 (n. 581)
Reckoning of Time 12 (n. 21); 33; 39; 53–54; 70; 76; 78; 81; 206 (n. 672); 229 (n. 832)
Benedict Biscop 31; 57
Book of Armagh 37; 264 (n. 1055)
Bonner, Gerald 28–29

Caesarius of Arles 18–20; 31
Cassiodorus 19–20; 36
Chazelle, Celia 57
Christe, Yves 35
Codex Amiatinus 42; 57; 61
Cologne Prologue 48
commaticum 23–25
Cuppo Csaki, Luciana 79; 186 (n. 537)
Cyprian of Carthage 26

Darby, Peter 39–40
dating the end-times 8–9; 12–13; 17; 22; 45–51; 55; 73–81
Dionysius of Alexandria 26; 282 (n. 1183)
Donatism 14–16; 18; 30

Easter 244 (n. 925)
emerald 132 (n. 160)
Enoch and Elijah 9; 78–79; 127–128 (n. 126); 186 (n. 537)
Eusebius of Caesarea 26; 46

Eusebius, abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow
see Hwætberht

'false brethren' 57
Flood (Noah's) 241 (n. 904)
Four Living Creatures (Rev. 4:7) 33

Giles, J.A. 93
Glossa ordinaria 92; 141 (n. 220)
Gog and Magog 51
Gregory the Great 21–22
Bede's use of 25; 27; 33–34; 52–53; 55–56; 83–84
Gryson, Roger 14; 21; 23; 26; 28–29; 31; 38; 93

heresy 46–49; 55–57
Herwagen, Johannes (Hervagius) 93
Hesychius 17
high crosses 51
Hilarianus, Quintus Julius 12; 49
Hippolytus 8–9
Holder, Arthur G. 57
Hwætberht 41–42; 50
Hydatius 12 (n. 21)

Ignatius of Antioch 26
Irenaeus of Lyons 7–8
Irish scholarship, exegesis, etc. 30; 52
see also Bede, *Commentary on Revelation* (Irish influences)
'Irish Reference Bible' (*Pauca problesmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis*) 20–21
Isidore of Seville 25; 39
Islam 51

jasper 132 (n. 157)
Jerome 10–11; 13; 46
Bede's use of 25–26; 33; 159 (n. 347)
ps.-Jerome, *Commemoratrium in Apocalypsin* 20–21
Jerusalem (in Revelation) 37
Jews, conversion of 54; 77–80; 127–128 (n. 126)
John (author of Revelation) 108 (n. 5)
Judgement, Last 36; 82–85
Julian of Toledo 51
Julius Africanus, Sextus 12; 48

Klein, Peter K. 36–37

Last World Emperor 51
Lérins 31

Maccabees 225 (n. 794)
Magi 112 (n. 35)

manuscripts (note: page numbers in this book after the colon)
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Hamilton 88: 87
Bern, Burgerbibliothek A 91: 87
Cologne, Stadtarchiv GB 4o 147: 87
Dublin, Trinity College 52: 37
Durham, Cathedral Library A IV 28: 86; 151 (n. 283)
Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 176: 87
Erfurt, Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek CA 4o 96: 87; 149–150 (n. 273)
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana plut. 16.7 and 16.9: 92
Karlsruhe, Badische landesbibliothek Aug. CLIII: 151 (n. 283)
Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek theol. 2o 25: 86
Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Voss. lat. F. 70 I. B: 87
Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 140: 30

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 316: 93
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 317: 87
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 10400: 86
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 12284: 151 (n. 283)
Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B.6: 64–65; Appendix
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 259: 149–150 (n. 273)
Stuttgart, Würtembergische Landesbibliothek HB VII: 41 149–150 (n. 273); 151 (n. 283)
Utrecht, Biblioteek der Rijksuniversiteit 77: 92
Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. 99: 37
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 21: 87
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Urb. lat. 101: 92
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 3852: 87
Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka I F 46: 87
Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Car. C 176: 87
Marshall, Edward 93–94
Markus, R.A. 53–55
McGinn, Bernard 6
meditatio 27; 39
ps.-Methodius, *Revelations* 51
Millennium (Rev. 20:4–6) 6–11; 15–16; 39–40
Monothelite heresy 57

numbers, symbolism of 70–71; 125 (n. 184); 192 (n. 580); 234 (n. 862); 266 (n. 1060)

Oecumenicus 17
Origen 9
Orosius 75

Paterius 27
Paulinus of Nola 12
periochae 59–64
persecutions, ten 118–119 (n. 73)
portents 75–76
Primasius
Bede's use of 4; 18; 25; 30–31; 38; 169 (n. 419); 190 (n. 559)

Quinisext Council *in Trullo* 138 (n. 205)

rainbow 132 (n. 159)
recapitulatio 9; 15; 59; 71
'refreshment of the saints' 159 (n. 347, 348)
Revelation (book of)
exegetical tradition 5–22
iconography 34–37
text of 19; 38–39
Roigny, Jean de 93
Roman Empire 10–12; 148 (n. 266); 198 (n. 613)

Sergius I (pope) 138 (n. 205)
Simon Magus 198–199 (n. 619)
Sparks, Hadley 38
Sulpicius Severus 11–12

Thacker, Alan 32
Transfiguration 176 (n. 460)
Trier Apocalypse 36
Twelve Stones (Rev. 21:19–21) 24; 34; 37; 267 (n. 1072)
Twelve Tribes, signing of (Rev. 7:5–8) 24
Tyconius 14–16; 18
Bede's use of 4; 16; 25; 28–30; 38; 67–73; 169 (n. 418); 229 (n. 826); 232 (n. 852); 258–259 (n. 1–23)

'Budapest fragments' 14
Commentary on Revelation 14–16
influence on Augustine 16–17
'Turin fragments' 15; 31

Venantius Fortunatus 11; 25
Victorinus of Pettau 9–11; 44 (n. 117)

Wallace-Hadrill, J.M. 55
Wearmouth
images in 34–37
Weinrich, William C. 94
Wilfred 41; 45–46; 48
world-ages 8; 39–51; 108 (n. 9); 187 (n. 546)